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The Shape of Things

✶

AMBASSADOR KENNEDY'S SABOTAGE OF THE Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees was demonstrated in last week's *Nation* by a well-informed London correspondent whose facts the President chose to dismiss but which he could not deny. We hope Mr. Roosevelt will give more careful attention to subsequent revelations in the House of Commons which provided yet another instance of Mr. Kennedy's "slightly grim determination to collaborate with the British Prime Minister." The facts, as stated by Sir John Simon in answer to questions, are that during the Czech crisis Paramount Newsreel interviews with Wickham Steed and A. J. Cummings, noted authorities on international affairs, were regarded in Downing Street as likely to have a "prejudicial effect." According to Sir John, "the Ambassador of the United States thought it right to indicate this to a member of the Hays organization," and as a result Paramount agreed to make certain desired excisions. Newsreels do not come under the jurisdiction of the British Board of Film Censors, which is the equivalent of the Hays organization. Unable to exert pressure through this body, the British government called on the obliging Mr. Kennedy to do the dirty work. A hint by him to the Hays organization, always impressed by the voice of authority, was quite enough to produce a hint to Paramount which that company could not ignore. The British government rightly expressed its gratitude to Mr. Kennedy, but it was inconsiderate to give him away so completely and force him to issue a denial of the accuracy of Simon's account of the incident. We are certain, however, that Downing Street will quickly take steps to soothe the feelings of so faithful a friend. Meanwhile, the incident gives added point to the question we raised last week—"Whom does our Ambassador in London represent anyhow?"

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THIS PARTICULAR ESSAY IN CENSORSHIP IS, unfortunately, only one instance of the efforts now being made by the British government to suppress opinions and news that it dislikes. There is nothing open about these maneuvers, for the British public would still shy violently at outright peace-time censorship. There are,

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however, many unobtrusive ways of exercising pressure, and the government appears to be using most of them. American correspondents in London, as well as British newspapermen, are finding that if they do not "cooperate" with the authorities all official channels of information are closed to them. Again, in Britain, even more than in this country, the press is controlled by a few wealthy men who can usually be influenced by a discreet word conveyed over a club dinner table. This is an old-established technique, but it is a new and disreputable trick, vouched for by Mr. Wickham Steed in a new pamphlet on "The Press," to organize pressure through the medium of big advertisers. Another means of silencing opposition is the Official Secrets Act, supposedly intended to deal with espionage. Unfortunately loose wording has made it possible to invoke it against anyone using official information which could possibly be construed as confidential. There have already been prosecutions under this act in cases where no possible "danger to the state" was involved, but its most potent use has been as a club to prevent publication of books and articles displeasing to the authorities. Efforts are being made by the National Union of Journalists and the National Council for Civil Liberties to check these encroachments on freedom of the press. We hope they succeed, for at present writing Mr. Churchill's forebodings about the effects of the Munich agreement on British liberties seem all too justified.

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THE FATE OF THE THIRD REPUBLIC MAY hinge on the outcome of the general strike called by the French General Confederation of Labor for Wednesday of this week. Should Daladier make good his threat to break the strike by military mobilization of transport workers, miners, and employees of munition plants, he will have removed the last substantial obstacle to a dictatorship which, if not fascist, will be subservient to Hitler. Daladier has denounced the strike as "political" on the ground that it is directed as much against his foreign policy as it is against the Reynaud decrees placing the burden of recovery on the working classes. The Premier's charges doubtless have some foundation; the common people of France have had no other means of expressing their bitterness over the betrayal of Czechoslovakia. But labor's animosity appears to be directed primarily against Daladier's attempt to destroy the five-day week, which has become a symbol of the social program enacted by the Popular Front. That a struggle for relatively limited objectives threatens to develop into civil strife can be attributed directly to Daladier's decision to apply forcible measures of suppression. While there has been no confirmation of the report that he was considering the dissolution of the Communist Party, and possibly of the Socialists as well, his action in requisitioning the railway lines indicates that he is prepared to go the limit in forcing his will on the French people. Step by step he is driving France to the point where it must make the tragic choice between dictatorship and civil war.

✶

WE DO NOT FOR ONE MOMENT BELIEVE that Father Coughlin speaks for a majority of the Catholic clergy or laity in this country. But we believe that he is doing his church, as well as the Jews, a great deal of harm by acting as the chief American outlet for the shabby canards with which the Nazis helped pave their way to power in Germany. The Catholics, like the Jews, are a minority group. The anti-republican position taken by the church in Spain, like the unprogressive attitude assumed by sections of the hierarchy in this country, notably in the fight against the Child Labor Amendment, is making "Catholic" and "reactionary" synonymous in the minds of many people. If a Catholic priest is now to become our No. 1 anti-Semite, the identification of the church with all that is backward and obscurantist will be strengthened, and America will some day see the kind of violent anti-clericalism hitherto confined to Catholic countries. Otto D. Tolischus, German correspondent of the New York *Times*, reports that Coughlin is a hero in the Reich. It is well to remember that he is the *only* Catholic acclaimed as a hero there; the others are being discriminated against, gagged, jailed, or persecuted. Coughlin admitted that some of his anti-Jewish "information" was taken from Nazi sources, that is, from sources that are anti-Catholic as well as anti-Jewish. The radio priest's oily hypocrisies are passed upon by Archbishop Edward Mooney of Detroit before he goes on the air. Responsibility rests, therefore, upon the Archbishop. How much longer will he permit his subordinate to spread the flames of racial and religious hatred in this country—flames which, as German experience demonstrates, are certain to singe his own church as well as the Jews.

✶

THE DIGESTIVE CAPACITY OF THE DIES committee is a contemporary wonder. Last week it swallowed another huge compound of half-truths and whole cloth served up by a nondescript crew of irresponsible witnesses. It heard "anonymous" WPA officials testify how polite words such as "overtime work" were changed to crude ones like "stretch-out" in the WPA guidebooks; it heard the lowdown on Spain from an ex-Socialist repudiated by his own party; it resurrected—and distorted—an ancient article by David J. Saposs, NLRB economist, to show that "outright Socialists and Communists" are the brains behind the New Deal. Armed with these discoveries and a bundle of others, Mr. Dies modestly made these proposals: (1) that Ickes, Perkins, and Hopkins forthwith resign from the government

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service; (2) that the State Department investigate such organizations as the American Civil Liberties Union, which, Mr. Dies suspects, should be compelled to register as agents of foreign governments. The only refreshing note in this malicious mess was furnished by Gipsy Rose Lee, who is accused by Mr. Dies's associates of contributing to Spanish and Chinese relief and thereby undermining native institutions. Miss Lee, a professional at being exposed, calmly invited committee members to Columbus, where she promised to "bare all." They prudently abandoned the subject. The crucial question is whether Congress will abandon the Dies committee, which has become the most violently undemocratic agency in America. By branding the most active defenders of civil liberties as "foreign agents," Mr. Dies has adequately defined his own conception of Americanism; it remains for him only to demand that Mr. Roosevelt run around to the State Department and file his registration blank.

*

SOME TWELVE HUNDRED PERSONS FROM thirteen Southern states met last week in Birmingham at the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. There were delegates from the left and from the right, some politicians, a few labor leaders, a scattering of workers, and a large body of professional and church people. New Deal liberalism predominated. The general sentiment ran strongly against any and all North-South differentials, whether in wages, freight rates, or federal appropriations. The few politicians present—New Dealers, be it said—were alone in raising the states' rights issue, as the delegates, often against their advice, enthusiastically adopted resolutions calling for a federal uniform-suffrage law and a federal anti-lynching act. The race question had been strikingly brought home to the conference when the city of Birmingham sent in police to enforce the Jim Crow ordinance, and large signs "For Whites Only" and "For Colored Only" appeared in the conference hall. Bowing to the ordinance, the conference unanimously adopted a resolution of protest. With only faint opposition it went on record against the Dies committee and against any amendment of the Wagner Act; the latter was a particularly significant step since many of the longest and most bitter fights against the act have been waged by Southern industrialists. Another important action was the recommendation of extensive legislation to define and protect the rights of share-croppers. The thorough airing of sore Southern problems by Southerners will unquestionably have a wholesome effect. But the real test of the permanent organization established at Birmingham will be the extent to which it can translate into action the reforms it advocates. Will it, under the liberal leadership of Frank Graham, be a means of furthering the effort to give votes to the disfranchised masses of the South? Will it, steering clear of over-cautious and self-interested politicians, provide coordination and leadership for a genuine economic-reform movement?

*

THE REPORT THAT THE NEUTRALITY ACT may be revised at the Administration's urging to distinguish between aggressor and victim is good news. For months it has been evident, in both the Spanish civil war and the Far Eastern conflict, that the Neutrality Act in its present form works a frightful injustice on a country which is attacked in violation of international law. Applied to Spain, it has been instrumental, together with the non-intervention agreement, in throttling the Spanish government while imposing no obstacle to the unlimited importation by Germany and Italy of munitions for use in Spain. In the Far East it has prevented any effective action to check Japan. Had it been invoked, it would automatically have cut off supplies from China also. The President, therefore, could only take advantage of the technicality that no war had been declared and leave both sides free to import what they liked. This means that we have continued to underwrite Japanese aggression, a course which, aside from moral issues, is highly detrimental to our interests. Revision of the act is overdue. Even the announcement that it is under consideration may give pause to aggressors and would-be aggressors.

*

NEWS FROM CHINA IS EXTREMELY DIFFICULT to obtain these days since there are at present no regular American correspondents in the unoccupied sections of the country. This means that all the reports now being received have filtered through Japanese hands and been subject to Japanese censorship. Nevertheless, it is clear that Chinese resistance is far from broken. For some weeks Japan has been unable to make progress in its drive on the important city of Changsha. In Shansi, which has been in Japanese hands for more than a year, the invaders are said to have lost 10,000 men in thirty engagements. The Taiyuan arsenal has been reported destroyed with 300 casualties. A strong Chinese army is still on the outskirts of Canton. But most significant are the reports of a new agreement between Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Communist Party which would permit Communists to reenter the Kuomintang. If verified, this would imply a complete reorientation of Chinese policy toward the Soviet Union, with prospects of greater Soviet aid. Thus Japan's "war against communism" appears to have achieved in seventeen months what Comintern propaganda failed to achieve in fifteen years.

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JAPAN'S REJECTION OF SECRETARY HULL'S protest against the closing of the Open Door in China makes it clear that in the future the United States will be admitted to the vast Chinese market only upon Japanese

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terms. The principle of equal rights, which has been the keystone of American Far Eastern policy for some forty years, is thrown overboard as an "inapplicable idea . . . of the past." In its place there is to be found a "new order . . . which is . . . an indispensable condition for the very existence of Japan"—namely, the puppet governments. Experience in Manchuria and North China has shown that protests against the discriminatory actions of this "new order" are futile whether delivered locally or at Tokyo. Fortunately, however, the United States is not without weapons which, in the long run, should bring Japan to terms. The first step must be the denunciation of the present Japanese-American commercial treaty on the ground of unjust discrimination against American goods. This should be done immediately. Six months after this action the President can place Japan on the black list under Section 350 of the Tariff Act. This would deny to Japan the tariff concessions which the United States has granted other countries under the Hull trade program. Should this fail to move Japan—as it well might in view of the small number of Japanese imports affected by these concessions—the President is empowered to place an embargo on all trade with Japan.

Witches' Brew in Europe

TO WRITE a coherent account of the latest developments in European diplomacy is like attempting to put together a jigsaw puzzle of which half the pieces are missing and most of the rest broken. The picture broadly is one of a witches' brew, simmering menacingly, with a band of sorcerer's apprentices hurrying back and forth gathering fresh ingredients to add to the pot. But the different recipes they are following and the methods they are using to render innocuous one another's poisons must be deduced from communiqués which do not communicate and from calculated leakages of information.

At Munich, Germany won an empire in Southeastern Europe, but the task of organizing and consolidating it remains. There are indications that the work is not proceeding altogether smoothly. Germany has an unparalleled opportunity for economic exploitation but is hindered by lack of resources. The demands of armament make it difficult to manufacture suitable goods to exchange for Balkan raw materials, while the Anglo-American trade treaty and repercussions of the new program mean a further restriction of trade with that part of the world not amenable to barter arrangements. Germany is consuming internally its whole current production; it is not creating surplus resources available for investment in Danubia. Since Munich, many grandiose economic schemes have been concocted in Berlin, but it may be long before they leave the paper stage.

Nor is the political situation entirely satisfactory. Czechoslovakia is sufficiently docile, but neither Poland nor Hungary has accepted as final the Vienna award. They still hope to achieve a common frontier, and while they dare not openly seize Ruthenia they are doing their utmost through intrigue and propaganda to keep the question open. They would also like to bring Rumania into line, but King Carol has not been cooperative. He may be unenthusiastic about Nazi plans for making his country an economic protectorate; he is even less anxious to foster the aggrandizement of a Hungary which cherishes renewed hopes of recovering Transylvania. Consequently he has been shopping around Europe to pick up as much support, financial and diplomatic, as possible. His only tangible acquisitions in London and Paris were the Order of the Garter and an undertaking by the French to raise their legation in Bucharest to the status of an embassy. He thus was forced, like other poor flies, to seek admission to the Berchtesgaden web and learn on what terms Germany would do business. Reports of an attempt to revivify the Balkan League may indicate that he is still struggling against his fate. The only other new move open to Rumania is a return to the Titulescu policy of friendship with Russia.

In Poland the versatile Mr. Beck has extended a tentative hand in that direction. Whether he is genuinely alarmed at the possibility of Germany's promotion of a movement for Ukrainian independence, or whether he is merely bent on another demonstration of his country's not inconsiderable nuisance value, is not quite clear. But the reaffirmation of the non-aggression pact with Russia, the smoothing out of various disputes between the two countries, and the opening of conversations for an increase of trade suggest that Poland may be having second thoughts about the wisdom of its recent pro-Nazi policies.

More than ever Southeastern Europe remains a breeding ground for intrigue, but it is questionable whether any permutations and combinations which the diplomats may devise will do more than delay the German advance. One of the obscure factors is Italy's part in the game. Openly Mussolini is sticking close to the axis. He has, for instance, warned Hungary to leave Ruthenia alone. But it is not inconceivable that behind the scenes he is doing all he can to make difficulties for his fellow-dictator. This would explain why Hitler chose to conclude the new pact with France at a moment when negotiations for an agreement between Paris and Rome—for which Italy's terms were reported to be somewhat exorbitant—were in suspense. Under these circumstances a friendly gesture toward France appears rather like a warning to Italy not to attempt any double-crossing. It may also mean that Hitler has decided his next positive action must be in the east to demonstrate that interference with his plans there will not be tolerated. Under these circumstances the neutralization of France, at the cost of another promise to respect

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French territorial integrity, would be well worth while.

It is a commentary on the complete lack of faith characterizing all European diplomacy in these days that the conclusion of the Franco-German pact was immediately followed by conversations between Chamberlain and Daladier mainly devoted to questions of defense. Plans were laid for the close coordination of the British and French air forces, armies, and war industries, and Daladier is said to have put forward a plea for an increase in the British army so that in the event of war a strong expeditionary force could immediately be sent to the Continent. The discussion of such plans only two months after Munich makes a quaint postscript to Chamberlain's claim of "peace in our time."

The most immediately important result of the Paris conversations was an agreement not to grant Franco belligerent rights until all foreign "volunteers" are withdrawn. This decision is as welcome as it was unexpected. Its probable explanation is not any belated decency but the fact that Mussolini, in quoting France too high a price for his friendship, overbid his hand. Thus out of the tangled web of European intrigue we can draw one thread of comfort. It should remind us that only in Spain is the banner of democracy still held high against all onslaughts.

The Horrid Word

TO BE specific has never been accounted a virtue in politics, and perhaps the most informative part of the articles in this issue by Governors Benson, Murphy, and La Follette is what they leave unsaid. This is put down more in sorrow than in disparagement, for their defeat was the worst blow suffered by liberalism at the last election and they remain among the most promising figures in our political life. Governor Murphy comes to grips with the issues at just one point, where he speaks of the reaction against the New Deal. "The shift grew in part," he writes, "out of the 1937 economic recession, *which resulted in large measure from the retrenchment in federal expenditures under the recovery program.*" It might not have been politic to add that the Administration, with the election past, is now proceeding to make the same mistake by cutting WPA rolls rapidly and sharply. As reflected by Governor Murphy, the distinction between New Dealer and anti-New Dealer remains a question of sympathies. The Republicans in Michigan, he says, "displayed a cold, disheartening unconcern for the improvement of the lot of the common man." But when one looks for the elements of a future program, Governor Murphy is elusive: "The basic problem of unemployment is yet to be solved. . . . To the discovery of a solution, a progressive, liberal government, working in close cooperation with industry and business, must increasingly direct its efforts."

Governor La Follette repeats what his father said in 1926, that both parties are fundamentally conservative. The statement is not as true now as it was then, though the Hagues and Farleys and the Southern Bourbons in the Democratic Party give the accusation weight for all Mr. Roosevelt's counterbalancing vigor and leadership. But when one looks to the Governor for a new course of action, for a progressivism that will carry us beyond the New Deal, he is still disappointingly vague. It is not fair, of course, to judge his program by a single short article, but it is significant that the one solution put forward here for our economic problems is "complete nationalization of money and credit." "Money and credit," the Governor writes, "are the thermostats of economic air conditioning." The metaphor is vivid, but what does it mean? The discount rate and open-market operations have proved ineffective thermostats; increased national control of banking through the new Federal Reserve set-up and the FDIC has not made it possible to check cyclical fluctuations of business. Or does nationalization mean government ownership and operation of our banking system? This would entail government control of business, a step in seven-league boots toward socialism. Certainly Coughlin and the money cranks do not mean this when they talk of nationalizing money and credit; their demagogic appeal to the right lies in the contention that some vague tinkering with credit would make more painful reforms unnecessary. Governor La Follette will have himself to blame if he does not, by clear explanation, differentiate himself from these peddlers of economic pink pills.

Governor Benson's analysis of the reasons for his defeat seems to us more realistic than the others. He sees the swing away from the New Deal as a result of its failure to solve the farm and unemployment problems. He stresses the need of moving forward to new experiments. But what he says of the Republicans also applies in perspective to the Democrats: "Republicans have promised two things: (1) to rebuild our crumbling economic foundations; (2) to do so without dislodging the financial and industrial oligarchy which now stands between the people and their full use of the economic, social, and political institutions of their country. The two promises contradict each other." The New Deal's "middle way," too, seeks to obtain the cake of social control without letting go the penny of private irresponsibility in the management of our great corporations and monopolies. Governor Benson indicates that he sees the way out, but does not go beyond indications. Profit still takes precedence over need; billions are added to the public debt so that capital may have the luxury of remaining idle though millions are in want. One of these days we shall have to take the bold step of bringing idle men and idle factories together, whether or not they can be operated at a profit. But that way lies socialism, the

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horrid word. Minnesota's Farmer-Labor Party seems to be the only major political group brave enough to hint at the possibility of it, even in a whisper.

The British Trade Pact

IN SIGNING the Anglo-American and Canadian-American trade agreements, the United States made a major international move. Although their economic effect may be easily exaggerated, their political significance exceeds that of any of the earlier agreements. Great Britain is our best customer and is second as a source of supplies. Canada ranks first as a source of supplies and is our second-best customer. There is no close third. The agreements thus represent the most substantial assault yet made on the ramparts of economic nationalism. They have forced Britain to discard the imperial-preference system launched with such fanfare in 1932. They reflect the triumph of Hull's trade philosophy within the Administration over the nationalist economic theories which dominated the New Deal in the days of the London Economic Conference.

The number of articles affected by the agreements is not great in comparison with the total number traded between the United States and the United Kingdom. Tariff reductions cover only about 15 or 20 per cent of the goods, in value, normally traded between Britain and the United States. Most of the cuts are small. But a much larger proportion of articles is found on the free list or at their previous rate of duty. Such assurances may mean more, in terms of increased confidence for traders, than the actual reduction of duties.

Months must pass before it will be possible to say with assurance who got the "best" of the haggling which preceded the signing of the pact. In fact, it is difficult to say whether the United States obtains a greater benefit from the British and Canadian tariff concessions on American exports or from the American concessions on British and Canadian exports. In either case the stimulus to trade does not stop with the original concession. The dollars which Americans pay for increased imports must, of necessity, come back in the form of added demand for American products, while an increased sale of American goods abroad creates a compensating demand for foreign goods. The trade agreements, providing an equal stimulus to imports and exports, do not strike at the fundamental disequilibrium which has brought billions of dollars in unwanted gold to this country. They do, however, turn the increased trade into carefully prepared channels. Thus the recent agreements permit wheat, lard, hams, and apples—in which there is an important export surplus in the United States—to enter Britain more freely, in exchange for our acceptance of greater quantities of specialized manufactured products not made in any amount in this country. The agreements are not a solution for our most pressing agricultural problems. They provide no outlet for the huge cotton surplus and only a minor one for wheat. But the additional market for hog products will aid thousands of farmers in a particularly hard-hit area. It is noteworthy, moreover, that none of the American concessions seriously discommode an important American industry or throw any number of American workers out of work. Such protests as have been made against the agreements have come from anti-Administration circles rather than injured economic groups.

Far outweighing the economic are the political implications of the agreements. The Hull trade policy stands diametrically opposed to the autarchy programs of the totalitarian states. It represents an attempt to reverse the world-wide drift toward nationalist trade policies. But it is more than merely a pious gesture toward better trade relations. It serves as an offensive as well as a defensive weapon. No one has attempted to conceal the fact, for example, that the present pacts are a severe blow to Germany. A surprising number of the concessions made on our imports from Britain are on articles which Germany also is seeking to sell in the United States. Strengthening the economic ties of the democracies constitutes the most effective answer, short of military cooperation, which can be made to the aggressor states at this moment. An improvement in domestic economic conditions as a result of the agreements should stiffen morale both in Britain and the United States.

Secretary Hull may seem to be placing too much faith in a program which, at best, cannot demonstrate its effectiveness for some years. The trade agreements cannot even be weighed in the same scale as Hitler's triumph at Munich. But while they should not be overemphasized, their significance is apparent. The Anglo-British agreement places the United States openly in the ranks of the anti-fascist countries. It does not guarantee our participation in further political steps to check aggression and reestablish the principles of international law, but Hitler can no longer assume that the United States is disinterested in his plans to dominate Europe.

A CORRECTION

An editorial entitled Next Week's Elections, which appeared in our issue of November 5, contained a reference to the Republican Auditor of Minnesota as having circulated during the election campaign a pamphlet playing up the alleged influence of Jews in the Farmer-Labor Party. The pamphlet in question was written by Ray Chase, a *former* Auditor of Minnesota, and not by Stafford King, who now holds that position. We regret the omission of the word "former" and offer Mr. King our apologies.

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Who's Court-Packing Now?

BY PAUL Y. ANDERSON

Washington, November 28

IT ALL seems to depend on whose court is "packed," and why. When Roosevelt proposed to enlarge the Supreme Court in a perfectly lawful manner, freedom shrieked from a thousand editorial pages, the moon turned blood red, and the Potomac River ran uphill. But when the presiding judge of the Third Circuit Court of Appeals proceeds to "pack" his own court in a manner which appears on its face to be thoroughly unlawful, it is hardly worth a paragraph outside a few papers like the Newark *Evening News* and the Philadelphia *Record* —and there aren't many like them. Why such editorial frenzy in one case followed by such indifference in the other? Perhaps that can be answered. In asking Congress to expand the Supreme Court from nine members to fifteen, Roosevelt sought permission to name new justices having some acquaintance with the problems of modern industrial civilization. When Judge J. Warren Davis of the Third Circuit recalled two superannuated colleagues from retirement to sit on the injunction against Frank Hague's dictatorship, he invited the accusation that he was "packing" that court to obtain a decision prolonging the suppression of civil liberties in Jersey City. The accusation was promptly made in a brief filed with the Supreme Court by Morris Ernst; yet a situation which contained all the ingredients for a judicial scandal caused hardly a ripple.

Here are the facts: After Federal Judge Clark granted the injunction to restrain Hague's gorillas from deporting C. I. O. organizers, prohibiting public meetings, and perpetrating other outrages on the Bill of Rights, Jersey City officials applied for a writ of supersedeas, which Judge Clark denied. Thereupon Judge Davis, senior member of the circuit, took the extraordinary course of adding two members to that tribunal, thus creating a five-man court—which promptly granted the writ. The law says that a Circuit Court of Appeals "shall consist of three judges, of whom two shall constitute a quorum." Earlier this year the Third Circuit Court, then consisting of Judges Buffington, Thompson, and Davis, denied the Labor Board permission to perfect the record in the Republic Steel case. The Supreme Court promptly pinned its ears back. Shortly thereafter Buffington and Thompson availed themselves of their right to retire, and there was hardly a dry eye outside the Supreme Court. For a long time the Third Circuit had been the sore spot of the federal judiciary, and it was expected that the appointment of two new judges by the President would relieve the soreness. But where do you suppose Judge Davis found two added starters to make up his five-man court? Correct. He dug up his old pals, Buffington and Thompson. When Buffington opened his eyes and recognized his former surroundings he promptly issued a statement to the press denouncing the C. I. O., which at that moment was a party to the suit before him! Naturally, the C. I. O., having already appealed to the Supreme Court to take the case away from the Third Circuit on the ground that it was "packed," now added to its original complaint the fact that Buffington had publicly aired his prejudices against the complainant, thereby disqualifying himself. Considering what the Supreme Court already knows about the Third Circuit, there is no reason to apprehend a miscarriage of justice in this case, but I should like to know what has become of the editors and publishers who once had fits over the thought of a court being "packed." Where is Frank Gannett? Where is the Chicago *Tribune?* Where is the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch?*

Jo-Jo O'Mahoney, the Wyoming dispenser of sweetness and light, continues to assure big business that nothing will be turned up by the monopoly investigation which could possibly embarrass the right people. His latest assurance was passed on by way of General Johnson's column, thus insuring its receipt by the right people in the right way. Anyone who doesn't think the General has the right contacts is mistaken. From Teagle and Sloan right down the line, he calls 'em all by their first names. I've heard him. In a perfect transport of delight the old cavalryman permitted himself to describe Jo-Jo as a great statesman, which affords some measure of the relief produced by his words in the right circles. Of course, it is always possible that the sage of the sheep ranges may not be able to handle the commission. Senator Borah has some positive convictions on the subject of monopoly, and William Douglas and Isidor Lubin will hardly be content to join in singing "Brighten the Corner Where You Are." However, Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold appears to be taking no chances. He is proceeding with a realistic program of enforcement of the anti-trust laws, heedless of the anguished cries which issue from the little brothers of the rich. The indictment of a Chicago milk combination including dairymen, distributors, union officials, and four city officials is the latest evidence of his purpose. Moreover, the forthcoming resignation of Attorney General

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Cummings and the likelihood that he will be succeeded either by Frank Murphy or Bob Jackson are signs that the Administration has not abandoned its theory that artificial restraints of trade are still among the main causes of depression.

At the same time the testimony of Wendell Willkie before the TVA investigating committee warns us that the monopolists seldom surrender. If I read Willkie's statement correctly, he declared that not even vital considerations of national defense could induce the electric-utility industry to proceed with a normal program of expansion until it has been assured of freedom from government competition. If that seems a little shocking, it nevertheless is quite consistent with the historic position of the utilities. That position always has been that profits must come first and public welfare later. Men of Willkie's type are entitled to credit for supplying the best possible argument for public ownership.

I derive considerable personal satisfaction from the fact that the Dies committee finally is being recognized by the country generally for what it is—namely, a sounding board for Nazi-Fascist propaganda in this country. Three months ago I wrote in *The Nation* that the spiritual godfather of this committee was Dr. Goebbels. Since that time an agent of an American fascist organization has testified at length before the committee, and now it appears that Dies and Goebbels have simultaneously made the discovery that the New Deal is seeking to spread the gospel of communism among the American Indians! Secretary Ickes undoubtedly is correct in appraising Dies as "the world's outstanding zany," but the fact remains that he is a dangerous zany because of the forces which are using him. A thorough investigation by the House of Dies's activities should not be postponed a day after Congress convenes. "Hemisphere defense" begins on Capitol Hill.

Czechoslovakia as Jonah

BY M. W. FODOR

Prague, November 12

SINCE I have been back in Prague, I have gained a slight notion of how poor old Jonah must have felt when the whale swallowed him. Czechoslovakia—in a few weeks' time even the name may disappear and the country will be called by another, probably Zapadoslavia (West-Slavia)—feels just as comfortable in the jaws of Hitler's Greater Germany as Jonah felt in the whale. Let us hope that its later fortune will turn out to be as favorable as was Jonah's.

I must say in advance that this article will be an indictment of many things, of almost everything, that the rulers of Czechoslovakia are doing at present, but to be fair I must immediately declare that the responsibility is not theirs. This country always wanted to become, and to remain, a stronghold of democracy in Central Europe. It was ready to fight for democratic ideals, ready to die for them. It was not permitted to do so, because a powerful group in Great Britain agreed with Germany's diagnosis that this "democratic pest" in the heart of Europe must be eradicated. The operation was successful. Chamberlain and Halifax, as consultants, confirmed the diagnosis; Runciman supplied the ether; and Hitler did the carving up.

The Germans always charged that Czechoslovakia was the advance guard of bolshevism in Central Europe, but what Germany and Italy, and their friends in England and France, really feared was the strong spirit of liberty and democracy inherent in the Czechs. Freedom, the craving for freedom, is a contagious disease. That is one reason why the old Czechoslovakia was singled out for destruction. There were, of course, other reasons. It was, for instance, in the way of German expansion to the Balkans. It no longer is such an obstacle; in fact, overnight it has become a useful link connecting Germany with both the east and the southeast. Its Carpatho-Russian, now Carpatho-Ukrainian, province will be the place from which the penetration of all the Ukraines, Polish, Rumanian, and Soviet Russian, will be attempted; its railroad lines, leading through Vienna and Budapest to the southeast, will play an important part in helping to connect the Balkans with Germany proper. For twenty years Czechoslovakia was used by France as a citadel against German expansion toward Southeastern Europe. Abandoned by France, it has become the *bridge* between Germany and Southeastern Europe. But: *tu l'a voulu,* Georges Dandin! Or Georges Bonnet? It took Professor Masaryk and Dr. Benes twenty years to build up in the northwestern corner of the former absolutist Austro-Hungarian Monarchy a democratic country, based on the ideas of "liberty, equality, and fraternity" of the French Revolution. It took Herr Hitler less than twenty days to destroy their work.

As I write these lines, it is announced that a strong, united government party, under the name of Great National Party, has been formed from the Agrarians, the National Union, the Traders', part of the Czechoslovak National Socialists and Fascists, and the National

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League. All the remaining parties will be compelled to unite in a single opposition party in which each will lose its identity, especially the Socialists and Communists.

Germany, of course, maintains that it does not want to interfere with the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia or of any other Central European or Balkan country. And, indeed, it will not interfere provided a few "unimportant" conditions are fulfilled. These conditions are, first, that the president or ruler of the country shall be a strong man who can impose his will on the people; second, that the ruling party shall be a large united party with enough permanence and authority to carry out legislation quickly; third, that no Socialists or Communists shall be tolerated, nor any "Churchill" opposition which might say disagreeable things about Germany; fourth, that the economic demands of Germany shall be quickly and efficiently carried through. If these trifling conditions are complied with, the country can lead an "absolutely" independent life.

There is not the least doubt that at the beginning of November Germany used veiled threats to force Prague to comply with these conditions. The influential organ of the Agrarian Party, the *Venkov,* on November 12 warned those Czech parties which had no wish to dissolve and unite in a national party that "there will be very soon either an all-national, state-supporting movement, with national discipline and order, or instead of us somebody else will create order. This clarification of the situation must occur in the next few days."

What are the ideas of the new rulers of Czechoslovakia? The chief power in the new combination is held by the Agrarians, who previously were the largest party in Parliament, but whose somewhat reactionary ideas were kept under control by Benes. The Agrarians were by no means unanimously reactionary, but an influential wing under the leadership of Rudolf Beran always advocated semi-fascist or semi-authoritarian methods. Moreover, they always advocated friendship with Germany, a policy which now of course brings laurels to them.

In pre-Munich days, however, the authority of the President was so great that nobody from the right parties could successfully oppose it. I remember September 20, when a huge, indignant crowd was protesting in the streets of Prague against the London decision to mutilate Czechoslovakia. It was an angry crowd, yet disciplined, orderly, and solemn. It shouted slogans against France and England, cheered the army, and cheered liberty. Some of my friends, coming from Spain and France, expected that these hundreds of thousands would break into rioting. I assured them that this would not happen, and subsequent events showed that I knew the Czechs. But there was one group of unruly people among the crowd. They carried many inscriptions and streamers, almost as many slogans as men—the group was hardly fifty strong. I turned to a friend who watched the procession with me from the balcony of my hotel and said: "I am not afraid of these crowds. They are calm, composed, civilized, the true, trained sons of a great democracy. But do you see those fifty nonentities there? They are the followers of Josef Gadja, the Fascist chief. Today they are just a noisy but insignificant group. Tomorrow they will be the leaders. The betrayal in London finished the democratic regime here, and those noisy people will be the profit-takers of the change."

And so it came about. The program of the new regime probably is best foreshadowed in the *Brazda,* the organ of the Young Agrarians, "young" here meaning the more active and determined group. This program can be regarded as the line of the future government of Czechoslovakia. It demands the concentration of all political forces in one large national unit. The President, it is true, shall be elected; the Agrarians consider democracy a means of "changing the guard," if necessary, by popular will. In foreign affairs political, cultural, and economic cooperation is recommended with all states, but "in the first line with Germany." The school age must be extended to sixteen, and after that every student must spend one year in a labor camp, as in Germany. The trade unions must become "unpolitical," that is, must give up their Socialist beliefs, and must be reorganized on a corporative basis, as in Italy. Citizenship will be reexamined, and the Jewish question will be solved by completing a register in which the date of the immigration of all Jews will appear, and their stay be made dependent on the time of their arrival in the country. The Young Agrarians further recommend a planned economy, a new fiscal policy, and new financial methods not unlike German financial methods.

Slovakia reacted to its newly won autonomy differently from Bohemia. The Czech was always used to discipline; the Slovak is excitable, mercurial, more Southern in temperament. In the first weeks of autonomy violence and excesses occurred. Slovakia, and especially the capital, Bratislava, has come more completely under German influence than Bohemia or Moravia.

Corresponding to the Nazi S. S. (Schutz-Staffel), the so-called Hlinka guards have taken over the police duty in Slovakia. And they are not much more gentle than their German brethren. These Hlinka guards were organized fifteen years ago by Professor Tuka, but the Czechs dissolved them. Like all organizations which have worked underground, they are high-handed now that they have come to power. They examine arrivals in Bratislava, inspect passports, and try to prevent anyone from taking more than $100 from Slovakia to the united Bohemian-Moravian lands. In the case of Jews this sum is limited to $10. The procedure is, of course, altogether illegal, but it remains to be seen whether the adoption of a new constitution will put an end to the excesses of the past few weeks.

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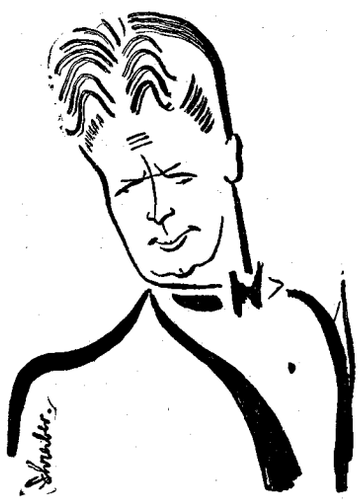
Why We Lost

They Wanted Something New

BY PHILIP F. LA FOLLETTE
Governor of Wisconsin

THE Wisconsin election was part of a deep-running national current whose intensity most observers misjudged. As far back as last winter I thought I sensed a gradual but unmistakable drift of public opinion—a drift which gathered momentum as it developed into a feeling of tired dejection. On every hand there was a very real feeling that government somehow had muffed the ball. There was a feeling that government had tried to do the right thing, but that in spite of all our relief spending, pump-priming, and social legislation we were back where we started from—in the midst of depression.



Governor La Follette

As I traveled over this great dairy state before and during the campaign, I sensed more than ever the genuine despair which gripped the farmers and their wives and children. Prices were disastrously low, in some cases as low as or lower than they were in the bleak days of 1933. Afterward, surveying the results of the election, particularly the heavy Republican gains in the farm areas, one distinguished economist sagely concluded: "I guess you can't beat the price of cheese."

We based our Wisconsin campaign on our record of performance in office—our state labor-relations act, our splendid government-reorganization program, our taxation legislation based on ability to pay, our drive for a coordinated, statewide power program, and our major advances in behalf of education, civil service, conservation, social security, modernized farm marketing, and greatly improved regulation of security issues. But nowhere did we find any real disposition to consider the state issues as such. As a matter of fact, our Republican opponents were never openly too critical of our record of achievement. They emphasized the need for a change, the need for a "business" administration; and a distressed people decided to take a crack at something "new."

Under our democracy, when the people are dissatisfied with things as they are, they can only vote the "ins" out and the "outs" in. They cannot sit down and affirmatively prepare their own ticket and their own platform. To a very large extent, this democratic, two-choice method resulted in the landslide of 1932. The present national Administration received a clear-cut mandate to go forward along new lines not only in 1932 but in 1934 and, overwhelmingly, in 1936. Now in 1938 the great rank and file who dictated three times the command for action feel that substituting the word "recession" for "depression" has not materially improved their position.

Progressives have felt for some time that the Democratic Party, as such, was not really interested in coming to grips with the very real problems which confront this nation. We recognized and readily acknowledged that, for the moment, the Democratic Party had gifted and socially conscious leadership whose objectives, at least, were those of the great mass of our people. At the same time, we were all too conscious of the presence of a Hague, a Pendergast, a Kelly-Nash, and a Tammany machine as integral parts of this party. These urban, graft-ridden machines, one of which calmly and arrogantly continues to defy the Bill of Rights, were by no means the backbone of the Democratic Party's successive triumphs in 1932, 1934, and 1936. On the contrary, the party succeeded to power because for the first time in nearly two decades the great mass of people *became* the Democratic Party, embracing it as the only available instrument for change and progress. But almost from the very first there was a life-and-death struggle within the Democratic Party itself. Despite overwhelming majorities in both houses of Congress, the Administration was compelled to pull its punches and on several major occasions to retreat.

Some progressives recognized last spring the futility of relying on a political instrument which was fundamentally conservative and which must soon be without the brilliant leadership which, for the moment, gave it a liberal hue. These progressives planted the progressive standard in the national scene. They enunciated in clear, simple language the nature of the problem, and then invited progressives everywhere to cooperate in the working out of a genuinely progressive program. Strangely enough, a large number of liberals protested. They were disturbed, and sincerely so I know, lest our action disrupt the progressive forces of America and play into the hands of the reactionaries. We pointed out again and again that there was no hope in either of the old

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parties. We predicted that the old-line politicians in the Democratic Party would continue to show no more interest in grappling with vital problems than the Old Guard in the Republican Party. The results of the so-called "purge" by President Roosevelt showed that the fight to make the Democratic Party liberal is a hopeless one.

We said last spring, when we launched the National Progressives of America, that there could be no permanent solution of our economic problem until we completed a program which would provide every able-bodied man and woman with a self-respecting job at secure wages. In the field of technology, where we have made so much progress, our physical scientists are perfecting air conditioning. By the mere wiggling of a thermostat we can adjust our physical climate to suit our comfort. One of the greatest needs of our time is economic "air-conditioning" control, to prevent fluctuations in the economic system. The Progressives propose to approach this problem by striking at its very heart—the problem of money and credit. Progressives are unreservedly committed to the complete nationalization of money and credit as the only means of regulating the flow of capital into the vital arteries of our economic system. Money and credit are the thermostats of economic air conditioning. By maintaining vigilant government supervision at the controls, we can regulate the economic climate in such fashion as to remove the fluctuations which cause us to shiver at one moment in a climate of 30 degrees below zero and perspire at another in 110 above. We are determined that the control of the economic thermostat shall not remain in the hands of privateers working against the interests of the great mass of our people.

In 1924 my father became an independent candidate for the Presidency. His was a protest against the tweedle-dee and tweedle-dum choice offered by the two old parties. Those of us who toiled in that campaign understand only too well the futility of forging a new political instrument without careful and precise preparations. We know from first-hand experience the terrific amount of time and energy which must precede the actual launching of a ticket in the field. We differ sharply with a great many liberals who feel that we ought to go on trying to liberalize the Democratic Party. Recent efforts have shown only too conclusively that that fight in the long run will be futile. When the people of this nation have to choose again between a conservative Democrat and a conservative Republican, liberals will raise their voices and clamor for a new political instrument. But when that moment arrives, it will be too late to build a really dynamic political movement. Our job is a long, slow pull. A genuine Progressive movement must be more than a movement of protest. It must be a movement with a strong affirmative program of its own. I have not space here to develop more fully the nature of the problem or to outline a possible program. I propose in the months ahead to give as much of my time as I can to developing Progressive principles throughout the nation so that we may build for our future.

Wisconsin Progressives have suffered temporary setbacks in the past, and they are not discouraged. They know their history well enough to know that progressives have lost many a battle but never a war. A few days after our defeat last week we called a hurried meeting of leaders of the party from every county in Wisconsin. More than 1,500 Progressives with no hope of patronage or favor packed the largest hall in the state capital. They agreed enthusiastically that the time is too precious and the issues too important to spend valuable moments weeping over our temporary setback. They are committed to go forward. They are determined to obtain a complete political realignment which will actually place in the hands of Progressives the power to make our economy work for us.

The decks are cleared for action. The recent election emphasized our contention—and the election in 1940 will reemphasize it—that the so-called liberal attitude of temporizing for immediate results and for the protection of immediate interests is a certain road to disaster. Only by careful planning and by the formulation of a long-range program based on a courageous acceptance of realities will the Progressive forces of this nation become articulate and make their philosophy prevail.

The Direction Is Forward

BY ELMER A. BENSON
Governor of Minnesota

REPUBLICANS came out of the recent elections with a string of victories—more, perhaps, than many of them had hoped for. Progressive parties, on the other hand, met with serious reverses. What is the meaning of the election returns? What factors caused the difficulties of the progressives at the polls?

Among the main factors were the red scare, the sharp anti-Semitic campaign, the division within the ranks of organized labor, the confusion in the minds of farmers and "white-collar" sections of our city population as to what the sharpening labor issues were all about, and a persistent two-year campaign of hate conducted by many newspapers against progressive forces and liberal governments, particularly against New Dealers, who were insistently represented as the source of "class war" and of the confusion and turbulence in the sessions of Congress and the state legislatures.

All these factors were employed by the conservative forces to rally the following which they launched against the progressives on Election Day. In Michigan, for instance, Governor Murphy, a good Catholic, whose governmental policies have squared religiously with the economic and labor views set forth in the papal encycli-

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cals on social justice, went down to defeat amid the echoes of a campaign filled with shouts about "protecting reds" and "fomenting labor violence." In Wisconsin Phil La Follette, who had singled out the Communists as among those who should be excluded from his new party of National Progressives, was defeated by a millionaire Republican manufacturer from Milwaukee. Yet in California the incumbent Republican was voted out to make way for a vigorous progressive, Culbert Olson, who promised to free Tom Mooney; and in New York the victorious Governor Lehman is a Jew, and "guilty" of protecting the civil liberties of Communists by his veto of the McNaboe bill, which sought to keep "persons who believe in communism" out of the civil service and the state educational system.

In the face of such facts, one is justified in refusing to fix on any one of the factors I have mentioned as decisive in the election results. Some deeper, more widespread, and more constant reason needs to be sought. Did the people, then, vote against the New Deal?

The New Deal stands for the right of wage-earners to organize and bargain collectively, and for a labor-relations act which obligates the government to protect that right. The New Deal means, also, social-security legislation, unemployment compensation, relief for the unemployed, and subsidies to farmers. The New Deal means, above all, government intervention to remove economic maladjustments.

The victorious candidates and parties in the last elections quite generally rode into office upon promises to provide these things. In my own state of Minnesota, for example, the Republican candidate promised "continued support to the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own selection, with absolute freedom from intimidation," and that his administration would "never permit the National Guardsmen's bayonets to be used as an employer's weapon to crush those who labor." He also promised to work for a state labor-relations act designed to reduce the grounds of industrial conflict by guaranteeing these rights. My opponent avoided attacking the New Deal and its agencies, pledged better care for the aged, and promised, "We shall not be niggardly with relief."

Evidently, then, the people did not vote against those features of the New Deal which represent social progress. What did they vote against, and what did they vote for? We may find a cue to the right answer in certain aspects of the campaign of the victorious Republicans in Minnesota.

The Republicans promised the farmers "cost of production plus a profit." They promised the wage-earners jobs in private industry, at good wages instead of the pittance provided by relief or WPA, and with the job-security of a thriving private industry. They promised that these things would be given to them without a continuance of the bitter struggle which the progressives have so far had to wage in order to achieve them. That is what the people voted for.

The farmer requires, first, a price for his products which covers the cost of production (including a fair return for his labor and the use of his property); and second, the right to rent or own his farm under conditions which are not the conditions of serfdom. These have not yet been won for the farmer, despite all the battling of the last ten years. Liberals in the last session of Congress supported a "cost of production" proposal, but they never even got a chance to vote on it. Similarly, no legislation has been passed to cope seriously with the problems of farm tenantry and farm indebtedness. In some instances, New Deal farm agencies have even emasculated the farm programs which do exist. Thus in Minnesota the director of one of the New Deal agencies which several months ago had been allotted special aid for 5,000 farmers had, by November 6, provided such aid for only 500. Do you blame farmers for wanting a change?

In one respect the Roosevelt Administration has consistently increased the prevalent discontent. It has promised that some day private industry would be restored in all its glory, and that it would then provide everybody with the jobs and full dinner pails they so long for. Recovery of that sort did not come. The Republicans then came along and said, in effect, "Let's try our formula for recovery," and people can scarcely be blamed if they were ready to take the chance.

If you believe that a recovery of that sort will ever permanently come to America, then perhaps you can also believe that the reverses which the progressives suffered at the polls are a real and permanent defeat. In that case, you will want the progressives to begin at once a retreat from their most advanced positions; you will think they can be returned to office by becoming more conservative. If, on the other hand, you believe that the present prolonged economic crisis, which has existed since 1920, arises from a basic maladjustment between the vast productive powers of our nation and our continuously insufficient consuming (or buying) power, then you will also believe that the persons and groups who are behind the momentarily victorious Republicans are not capable of producing and carrying out a program which will bring lasting economic prosperity to our people.

I am among those who believe these things. I therefore feel that the important lesson of the election results is that the progressives have only one direction in which to go—namely, forward.

Today's streamlined conservatives and "New Deal-ized" Republicans have promised two things: (1) To rebuild our crumbling economic foundations; (2) to do so without dislodging the financial and industrial oligarchy which now stands between the people and their full use of the economic, social, and political institutions

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of their country. The two promises contradict each other. When the impossibility of keeping both of them becomes apparent, the people will once more turn to the progressives to ask for a program that makes sense. Perhaps that call will come earlier than many of us expect.

Tragic Interruption

BY FRANK MURPHY
Governor of Michigan

BECAUSE the issues were so clear-cut, the story of the 1938 campaign and election in Michigan is quickly told. Nowhere in the nation were the opposing philosophies of government more sharply in contrast. On one side was the present administration, which has found its greatest satisfaction in struggling for an efficient, modern, and incorruptible government, and against conditions and practices that are unfair to the wage-earner and detrimental to the best interests of the general public. On the other side was a group—in no sense truly representative of the rank and file of the Republican Party—under whose leadership the state government in 1935 and 1936 had displayed a cold, disheartening unconcern for the improvement of the lot of the common man and governmental reform.

These basic philosophies were clearly evidenced in the attitudes of the opposing candidates with respect to the great strikes of 1937. This administration stood firm on the policy it had adopted upon taking office in January, 1937. We had approached the strikes with this question in mind: Shall we handle them in an enlightened way—through the exercise of the reason and intelligence which supposedly raises man above the ways of the jungle—or shall we handle them in the old, stupid, futile way that actually never settles anything for anybody—through force and violence? In choosing the way of reason, we gave political expediency not even momentary consideration. What our course might mean to us politically was not important then; it is not important now. What *is* important is that the greatest industrial crisis in history was settled in an atmosphere of justice and reason, without the suppression of a liberty or the loss of a single human life. Our opponents bitterly condemned the course we followed. Pursued to its logical conclusion, their contention leads inescapably to the force and violence which we succeeded in avoiding and which our opponents say they too wish to avoid.

The two philosophies were again mirrored in our stand and that of our opponents on the question of state finances. A budgetary deficit of $8,750,000 for the 1937-38 fiscal year was incurred primarily because the recession necessitated relief expenditures totaling $16,000,000, or $8,000,000 more than legislative appropriations for that purpose. Our opponents represented the deficit as evidence of "mismanagement," citing also a pay-roll increase which in fact resulted from the establishment of badly needed new agencies and services and the expansion of old services in which retrenchments had been effected during the depression. Followed again to its logical conclusion, their criticism leads either to failure to provide necessary services or to a refusal to make proper provision for the relief of the destitute.

It is a primary tenet of our governmental philosophy that in normal times any government, if it is prudent and wise, will spend less than it takes in. But in an emergency that rule cannot be strictly followed. It must give way to the greater consideration of human needs.

This administration has a profound belief that it is the responsibility of government to search constantly for sound ways in which, as Lincoln said, "to elevate the condition of men." Accordingly, we considered it our duty to fight for an uncompromised civil-service system; to instal a modern, efficient system of budgetary control and accounting practices; to fight for a comprehensive reorganization of welfare administration; to initiate a study of the state's obsolete tax system with a view to revamping it in the interest of an equitable distribution of the tax burden; and to launch a broad survey of the structure of the state government toward the end of modernization and reform.

Governor Murphy

Accordingly, too, we considered it a great privilege to press for unemployment compensation and to bring about the enactment of the present law; to liberalize and greatly increase assistance for the aged; to institute, with federal aid, a twelve-million-dollar hospital-building program and a systematic program for the prevention of mental illness; to bring electric power to 16,000 farms in our state through a program of rural electrification which had been systematically discouraged by the Republican leadership; to organize a thorough study of the state's milk industry, with a view to assuring a fair price for the farmer, an adequate milk ration for the underprivileged, and freedom from ruinous trade practices for the distributor; to amend the state housing law so that every community in Michigan might take advantage of the federal government's effort to provide decent homes for the low-income groups; and to lay the groundwork for a pioneering health program based on the conviction that good health should be the property of all.

To those of us who have struggled to build the record

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of the past two years, it is tragic that this work must be interrupted. We profoundly regret that a social-minded government of unquestioned honesty and high character was compelled to give way to a combination of habit and tradition and the nation-wide swing that brought reactionary victories in many states.

It is true that the opposition employed some tactics—such as the unconscionable timing of the Dies committee activities and the creation of a red scare—which no good citizen of any party will condone, but the primary factors in my estimation were those I have mentioned—habit and tradition, and the nation-wide trend. The former, of course, is deep-rooted and can be permanently overcome only by the slow processes of education.

But the latter factor I believe was more than a natural swing of the political pendulum. The shift grew in part out of the 1937 economic recession, which resulted in large measure from the retrenchment in federal expenditures under the recovery program. Undoubtedly the drop in farm prices—beginning in midsummer of 1937 and reaching a low point in midsummer of 1938—played a considerable part in the disaffection of a section of the voting public which since 1932 has been preponderantly Democratic. Many farmers, and doubtless some wage-earners, protested by their vote against the decline in their purchasing power. In the case of the small business men it was a protest against the business uncertainties born of the recession.

It may be, too, that the election represented a concern on the part of many voters over continued large-scale unemployment, for which work relief is recognized as only a temporary solution. The basic problem of unemployment is yet to be solved. It will not be solved by the so-called "restoration of confidence" about which some individuals have been so vociferous. To the discovery of a solution a progressive, liberal government, working in close cooperation with industry and business, must increasingly direct its efforts.

Good government is akin to a great spiritual thought—it roams the earth, now and then coming to rest as men inspired by its promise embrace it and give it expression. In the two years now ending that ideal has found a home in Michigan. The day is coming when our people will make for it here a safe and permanent haven.

C. I. O.—from Committee to Congress

BY ROBERT BENDINER

AT PITTSBURGH in the week of November 14 the C.I.O. concluded its pre-revolutionary history and began its career as *the* labor movement of the United States. What had been a body loose in structure but unified by the necessity of revolt became the most highly centralized national labor mechanism in the history of the country. Press reports of the convention spoke of "incipient revolt" and hinted darkly at schisms, but what struck me most forcibly at Pittsburgh was not a trend toward factionalism but rather the advance notice served by John L. Lewis, almost gratuitously, that no such tendency would be tolerated—and the complete humility with which the left-wing suspects accepted the rap on the knuckles which, at the convention at least, they had done nothing to deserve. Not division but excessive unanimity was the order of the day.

The extent to which power in effect is centralized in the new Congress of Industrial Organizations (which is to say, in the persons of Lewis, Philip Murray, and Sidney Hillman) may be looked upon as a warning for the future, but the concentration is personally assumed rather than structurally inherent and is therefore open to remedy; the democratic traditions of many sections of the C. I. O. should and almost certainly will emerge as soon as the ecstatic harmony of these honeymoon days wears off. In the meantime the newly constructed C. I. O. represents a compromise between the paralyzing looseness of the A. F. of L. and the obvious dangers of an excessively controlled movement. As such it produced a well-oiled machine at Pittsburgh, highly effective in plowing through the roughest problems facing the convention: relations with the A. F. of L., factionalism, and the adoption of a constitution.

That the break with the A. F. of L. was inevitable is still open to argument; that it is beyond recall is not. Even as late as the first day of the Pittsburgh meeting there were delegates who spoke of unity, despite the improbability that a constitutional convention would have been summoned while there was still a chance or an intention of remaining within the parent body. Heywood Broun rose after a reading of the report on the subject to ask "a little time to digest this report and think it over and argue this at great length. . . . After all, it is the most important issue before this convention." A delegate from a California industrial council went so far as to announce that "every one of our constituents at home have sent us here and told us to go down the line for peace." Seeing how the wind blew, Philip Murray, who was presiding at the time, declined to entertain

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Broun's motion for delay, insisting that discussion take place then and there. The steam-roller for the first time was set in motion: Bittner, Quill, Carey, Hillman, Fremming, Flaxer, Mortimer, Curran, Kennedy, Merrill, Bridges—all were leaders rather than rank-and-file delegates, and all said that of course they wanted peace, but not peace with compromise. Long before the engine stopped puffing, Broun surrendered even on the question of delay. Without another dissenting vote the delegates resolved "with finality" that while the goal of unity in the labor movement was accepted, the C. I. O. would never compromise with either the fundamental principle of industrial unionism or "its obligation to fully protect the rights and interests of all of its members and affiliated organizations." The door to further negotiations was not slammed; it simply wasn't approached.

The procedure may have been a little rough on the delegates who had been told back home to "go down the line for peace," but the result, given the purpose of the convention, was inevitable. For three years the C. I. O. leaders, convinced that industrial unionism held the only possibility of injecting life into the moribund Federation, had endeavored to come to some kind of understanding with Green and his colleagues. They could have reached an agreement any number of times, but it would always have been at the expense of the principle of industrial unionism which had been the wellspring of the new labor militancy and the basis of its success. The Federation's best terms involved readmission of unions which had once been affiliated with it on the terms that were embodied in their original charters; other C. I. O. unions would have to convince each Federation craft union that had any interest in their members to relinquish jurisdiction. If the craft bureaucrats refused—and certainly Messrs. Hutcheson, Frey, and Tracy, whose organizations and sinecures were most obviously at stake, were determined to do nothing else —the C. I. O. unions would have had to consent to be dissected, their members to be distributed among the various craft organizations. The C. I. O. itself was to disappear.

Lewis and his aides had nothing to lose by striking out alone. If the craft leaders came to their senses at once, there could be an honorable peace between equals; if not, the C. I. O. could go on to organize the millions of workers in the mass-production industries, to make itself so strong that the A. F. of L., besides being galvanized into action on its own account by the competition, would be compelled in the end to come to terms —the C. I. O.'s terms.

This is altogether likely to happen in time, but the interim will be a trying one for American labor. It will be a period in which labor politically has everything to gain from solidarity but in which agitation for unity within the C. I. O. is more likely to disrupt that all-important organization than to bring about a union with the A. F. of L.; to result not in one great labor organization but in general dissolution, with skeleton groups on either side and a no man's land between the lines for those who, like Dubinsky and his I. L. G. W. U., cry neither a plague nor a blessing on either house. The test of labor statesmanship will be the ability to preserve an informal entente cordiale between the membership bodies of C. I. O. and A. F. of L. which will permit them to work together in the innumerable situations where jurisdictional lines do not cross. The C. I. O. is more than willing to play such a game, and large sections of the A. F. of L.'s officialdom, despite the diehard leaders, as well as practically all the Federation rank and file, will go along.

Even more hard-boiled than the handling of the unity issue, and far less creditable, was the approach to the delicate problem of factionalism. Events at Pittsburgh showed with unmistakable clarity that Communist, or if you prefer, "Communist," elements are in no sense in control of the C. I. O. The broadcasting of this fact is all to the good, and may well explain the maneuvering, but the tactics themselves were redolent of Tammany. The delegates were asked to vote on a constitution which they had never seen and whose provisions they had had no opportunity to study. It was simply to be read on the spot and put to a vote, section by section. The left-wingers objected. Not only was the procedure high-handed, but at the outset there was a conspicuous omission: the purpose of the C. I. O. was "to bring about the effective organization of the working men and women of America regardless of race, creed, color, or nationality." Not a word about "political affiliation." The point is not especially important at the moment, because there is no attempt to bar Communists even from Lewis's United Mine Workers, which constitutionally rules them out. But who could say to what purpose such an omission might not be put in the future? On the safest possible ground, Delegates Rathborne, Curran, and Bridges rose to request that the delegates be given a little more time to study the provisions of the constitution before voting on it. Not until he had completely demonstrated to the objectors that they were helpless by rushing the first two sections to a vote did Sidney Hillman, then in the chair, consent to postpone consideration of the rest of the constitution to the following day. Then the delegates would have a printed copy of the constitution before them, though they still would have had no time to study its provisions.

Alarmed at press references to "reds" and "revolt," the left-wingers came to Lewis with peace protestations and declarations of loyalty. Explaining that he had had no intention of provoking a row, Bridges privately attempted to convince Lewis that his objections the day

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before were not only harmless but reasonable. Whereupon Lewis turned on him and in language drawn from other than his customary Biblical and Shakespearean sources, warned him that if he or his fellow-dissidents wanted a fight, they could have one and that he would "lick" them. The convention itself was told sharply that it could not "let the amendment of a man who merely has an idea destroy the work of a committee or change the whole subject of debate from the committee's report to his own personal idea."

Completely unwilling to create any disharmony in the convention, the left-wingers publicly tumbled over themselves in their protestations of loyalty. And not to be outdone, Lewis himself spoke in support of a resolution against the deportation of Bridges, who had complained sorrowfully that what had occurred would diminish his prestige on the West Coast. The whole episode faded out in a suffusion of good-will, but there was no mistaking what had occurred. The left-wing leaders had been told clearly that they were not running the show, and they in turn demonstrated just as clearly that harmony in the C. I. O. meant more to them than sectarian considerations—or, perhaps more accurately, that the Congress's success was in fact the supreme sectarian consideration of the day.

John L. Lewis

To dwell too much on the steam-roller aspects of the convention would be to distort the picture: first, because the remedies for over-centralization lie with the affiliates and the members; and, secondly, because the purposes of the C. I. O. are tremendous in their implications for American democracy.

If the first administration of the Congress of Industrial Organizations smacks somewhat of Federalism, its constitution is for the most part Jeffersonian. No affiliate, for example, may be expelled or even suspended without a two-thirds' vote at the convention (the A. F. of L. executive council suspended C. I. O. unions two months before the meeting of the convention which voted on their expulsion). The executive board may file charges against any of the four officers or against any member of the board itself and make recommendations to the convention for appropriate action, but it has no power of removal. It may also investigate any situation involving an affiliate if there is a suspicion of unconstitutionality and make recommendations to the affiliate and report to the convention. While direct action is barred, this last provision is nevertheless a significant grant of power to the central authority, and will regularize the procedure by which Lewis sent Murray and Hillman to Detroit to iron out the tangled affairs of the U. A. W.

For such militantly independent unions as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the United Mine Workers such a grant of authority is distinctly an innovation, but in practical terms it will hardly affect them—at least for the present. On the demand of one member of the board a roll-call vote must be taken on any question, and in such an event each member has as many votes as there are members in his affiliate. The U. M. W., the Amalgamated, and Murray's S. W. O. C. are, aside from the automobile workers, the giants of the C. I. O., and a combination that could be lined up against them is hardly feasible. This is in fact the source of power of the C. I. O.'s three chief officers—Lewis, Hillman, and Murray. James Carey, the new and brilliant young secretary, owes his job at least in part to the easing out of John Brophy. The executive director was the logical candidate, but his support from the left has not endeared him to the top leadership.

There is no doubt that the founding fathers of the C. I. O. felt that a tighter organization than the Federation afforded was needed to consolidate the gains made under the New Deal and enable it to move on to fresh victories—and they have built such an organization. Nor is there reason to fear that in so doing they have lost sight of the political and industrial democracy which is the reason for its being. The legislative demands to which the C. I. O. now stands committed go far beyond the program of any other group in the country of comparable size or significance. They include a permanent civil-liberties bureau in the federal government, liberal credit to small farmers and the maintenance of farm prices at not less than the cost of production; opposition to reduction in WPA while there are unemployed workers who will take WPA jobs; substantial expansion in the housing, social-security, and youth programs, both federal and state; and extension and raising of wage-and-hour standards. The C. I. O. would eliminate the poll tax in the South partly through the withdrawal of federal aid to states maintaining such a tax and would bring similar federal pressure on state and local governments which take a cavalier attitude toward civil liberties. It asks federal legislation to forbid the use of the National Guard to break strikes; urges passage of the complete program of President Roosevelt's Committee on Na-

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tional Health, which includes a provision for free medical care for families with insufficient income to pay for treatment; and insists on the right of organized labor to take part in the administration of all social legislation.

In the realm of foreign affairs the C. I. O. leadership leans heavily toward President Roosevelt's Latin American program. It would extend government credits to Central and South American countries both as a stimulus to domestic business and as a bulwark against "the fascist empires of Germany, Italy, and Japan." Wild and prolonged ovations at the convention greeted any and every attack on the Nazi program of robbery and blackmail, but aside from that the C. I. O. rank and file, to judge by its delegates, is apathetic about foreign affairs. Except for a Socialist fringe, the C. I. O. has no inclination toward pacifism, and menacing to organized labor as a runaway arms program can be, the Roosevelt Administration need lose little sleep over opposition to such a project from this quarter. All the C. I. O. asks is that social services should not be curtailed to pay for armaments and that the rights of labor under the Labor Relations Act be respected in the process.

To implement such a political program the C. I. O. still looks to the Roosevelt Administration and beyond that only to Labor's Non-Partisan League. No demoralization or even discouragement over the election returns of the preceding week was in evidence at Pittsburgh. The convention withheld any commitments on a third term for Roosevelt, and Lewis himself had some sharp things to say about the Hagues, Daveys, and other pre-Cambrian props of the Democratic Party. But the emphasis is all on a Democratic house-cleaning rather than on any third-party mirage. There is some private tendency to find fault with the American Labor Party's horse-trading in the New York campaign—chiefly because the party was buncoed—and with its over-enthusiastic prophecies of a greater vote than it got in 1937. Nevertheless, the A. L. P. remains a favorite, and efforts will be made to follow the model in other states.

But it is on the industrial front rather than in convention halls or the political arena that the story of the new C. I. O. will be written, and the broad outlines of attack were indicated in Pittsburgh. The forecast is for an intensified drive on the big meat packers, Swift and Armour; a broad campaign against the carpet-bag factories now flocking to Dixie, where old Southern hospitality provides cheap labor and vigilante service by the hour; and, above all, a frontal attack on Henry Ford. Against the Ford autocracy the whole weight of the C. I. O. will be thrown, not merely that of the U. A. W. Dearborn and River Rouge will afford the first great test of the spirit and determination generated by the conversion of the Committee for Industrial Organization into the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

In the Wind

LAST JULY 2 the Scripps-Howard newspapers hotly challenged the New York *Daily News* for classifying the Scripps-Howard chain as "anti-New Deal." It promised that "when we part company with the New Deal, announcement of that fact will appear in these columns." There hasn't been any announcement; but here are some statistics on Scripps-Howard policy as reflected in the New York *World-Telegram,* largest daily in the chain, from July 5 through November 12. In that period there appeared 75 editorials on President Roosevelt's domestic program. Among them were 22 condemning "politics" in the WPA and "coercion" of government employees; 14 attacking the Wagner Act and/or the NLRB; 9 criticizing President Roosevelt's activities in the primaries; 8 attacking New Deal "extravagance" and tax laws; 8 against miscellaneous measures—the Supreme Court plan, government reorganization, AAA, Roosevelt "methods," and so on; that is, 61 of the 75 were anti-New Deal. Of the others 2 praised the survey of Southern conditions by the President's Commission; 2, the wage-hour law; 1, the housing program; 2, the NLRB; 7, miscellaneous activities—"peace" with the utilities, the FDIC, Ickes, the Hull trade program—a total of 14 being pro-New Deal.

THE NEWEST German air-mail stamp depicts the globe of the earth with the German eagle's wings inclosing it. The rising sun of Nazism is expressed by Old Sol wearing a swastika. But the sun is on the wrong side of the globe; it is a setting sun!

A STORY now current in Hearst newspaper offices concerns "Cotton Ed" Smith, who is distinguished for his ability to make comic faces before camera men. When voting in the primaries he obligingly put on one of his customary grimaces as the cameras clicked. The photograph sped over the wires and was published in several West Coast Hearst papers. Shortly afterward Hearst sent a long telegram to his executives forbidding any future use of pictures so uncomplimentary to "respectable people."

REPORTS FROM Hollywood indicate that film companies are beginning to disregard the prohibitions of foreign censorship. Symptomatic of the new trend are the starting of work on the long-delayed "Idiot's Delight"—frowned on by Mussolini—and preparations to shoot "It Can't Happen Here."

NOTE OF CHEER: *Our Sunday Visitor,* a Catholic weekly, quotes John F. O'Hara, president of Notre Dame University, as follows: "If, of all the favors of God, I have to pick out one today for a special act of thanksgiving, let me make it the depression. . . . As a result of the depression a great portion of the American public rediscovered the home, rediscovered fireside joys, rediscovered the things of the spirit."

[*We invite readers to submit material for In the Wind. The $5 prize for the best item submitted during November goes to Mrs. Sanford Rosenthal of Washington, D. C., for the item about "Jimmy Hitler" published on November 5.*]

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

A LETTER from William Henry Chamberlin printed on another page of this issue both astounds and discourages me. I am amazed that anybody could think that I have denounced France and Great Britain for declining to fight to maintain the Czechoslovakian government, and discouraged that I have apparently failed to make my meaning clear. I thought that I had stated with the utmost clarity that I am no more in favor of any war today than I was in 1917; that I do not believe that there is such a thing as a good war. I thought that I had stated that given the situation as it was when Prime Minister Chamberlain reached Munich I should have done what he did—though I should, I hope, have made a fight and driven a hard bargain. Neville Chamberlain in those final negotiations was enmeshed by the blunders of Baldwin and himself. I repeat that Czechoslovakia was betrayed when Manchuria was betrayed, when the British Lion backed down over Ethiopia, when the Allies allowed Hitler to remilitarize the Rhineland, when Hitler was permitted to take Austria in the way that he did. Worst of all, perhaps, Czechoslovakia was betrayed when France and England permitted Italy and Germany to interfere in the internal affairs of Spain.

William Henry Chamberlin is an excellent journalist. I can only lay his misunderstanding and confusion, and perhaps ignorance—certainly as to Russia's role—to his being so far away in Tokyo. Robert Dell could and would set him right in regard to the part played by Russia, show him how England and France deliberately let Moscow down and refused even to talk with Russia about military measures. The brutal truth is that the Allied statesmen never had to make that choice between a good war and a bad peace which Mr. Chamberlin supposes. No war need have been thought of. What was needed was common honesty in dealing with Hitler, decent sincerity in regard to Czechoslovakia, and a united note of warning signed by Russia, England, France, and Czechoslovakia. British conduct, and French, too, was crooked from the start. If that was not the case, why did Neville Chamberlain and Daladier not only betray Czechoslovakia but actually make Hitler a present of the whole of Southeastern Europe, give him the road from Berlin to Bagdad without even his asking for it, and enable him to compel every one of the Balkan states to become a satellite of the German Reich? That is the chief disaster. That is why there appears very little hope today for France and the British Empire. I say this after sober second thinking, after a very careful reexamination of the facts in the case, after talking with a number of reliable men, mostly trained observers, who were in Europe when the débâcle occurred.

So much for William Henry Chamberlin. Now I want to answer those who are accusing me of inconsistency because I ask for a vigorous, aggressive, anti-dictator policy, and am still just as much opposed to armaments in the United States as ever. I see no inconsistency. A war between the United States and Germany is as impracticable as it would be criminal. We could not get at each other if we wanted to. If our ships could force an entrance into Bremerhaven or Hamburg or Kiel, we wouldn't have the men or the guns—thank God—to follow them up and put ashore an expeditionary force. Let no one forget that during our entire war with Germany we never on one single day, with all the thousands of ships we employed, landed in France sufficient supplies for our troops on that day. We need not now attempt an impossible war; we have more effective weapons, as for example, non-intercourse, the boycott. I want to see Washington aggressive in its opposition to the dictators; I want to have the embargo against Spain lifted by Congress the day it meets; I want to see the neutrality law put into force against Japan and extended by Congress to cover everything that Japan buys here to help carry on its foul war in China.

My difficulty is not any doubt about my policy or about any inconsistency. My fear is that if the policy I desire is followed in Washington, the men who carry it out will be so obsessed with the idea that the dictators understand nothing but force that they will needlessly land us in war. Secretary Hull has yielded even more to the battleship mania than has Franklin Roosevelt, who according to authoritative reports has been kept by high navy officials from finally coming out for the two-fleet folly. The danger is not only that we shall be put into war, but that piling up armaments and hitching our industries and our power utilities to a war machine will build up further a militarism here which is already far advanced and is itself a threat to our republican institutions. What good to us would be a victory by force over the dictators if in achieving it we destroyed democracy at home? There is good reason for believing that the rearmament program on which England is spending so much is producing the very fascism at home which it is to combat abroad. Perhaps that is what Neville Chamberlain wants. I begin to think so. Chamberlain and the crowd who control him would rather have fascism in England than yield one bit of their special privileges or alter in the slightest the present social system.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes by the Way

IT WAS a little surprising to find the Mormons turning up in the *Völkischer Beobachter,* and as one who, at the age of eight, was routed toward the Kingdom of Heaven by total immersion in an ice pond in October I found it rather piquant. The *Beobachter,* according to the Associated Press, "published what it called a history of the ejection of Mormons from the states of Missouri and Illinois." Nazi history being what it is, the martyrdom of Joseph Smith at Nauvoo according to St. Adolf would be worth reading. The piece was headed "A State Within a State" and was avowedly designed to recall to the memory of "fair-minded Americans" a "staggering parallel from the history of God's own land" which should make for "better understanding of the Jewish question in Germany." It won't. But it did serve to remind me that as a child I heard non-believers referred to as Jews and Gentiles. A little later, during the war, a soldier refreshing himself at a canteen in the railroad station in Salt Lake asked me if I would please show him a Mormon. The shocking thing is that I should have forgotten, until the *Beobachter* spoke up, that I too am a member of a "chosen people." I wonder how many "chosen peoples" there have been since the so-called dawn of history. Probably one for every Führer with a thirst for power. So far the pristine fanaticism of the type hasn't lasted very long in the American air. In Utah, at least, you can't tell a leader of the local chosen people from any other banker.

When is a "motherland" a "fatherland"? And if we must attribute sex to nations shouldn't there be some logic about it? Germany has recalled "her" envoy, but now, if ever, shouldn't it be "his"? When a nation goes to war its soldiers usually die "for the fatherland." The French compromise by calling it *la patrie.* Fiorello LaGuardia added confusion to compromise the other day when he said that a dictator country is like a woman of bad repute. No motherland, of good or bad repute, would murder her most helpless children, Jew or non-Jew. Perhaps we ought to call the dictatorships "he" and the democracies "she"—except that there is already too much of a tendency to regard a democracy as an old lady with an umbrella. We might agree to call the dictatorships "it." (*The Nation* calls all countries "it," probably because some early proofreader insisted.) Ignazio Silone in his brilliant "School for Dictators" shows pretty conclusively that the dictator is essentially a sterile type who pours all his frustrated desire for creation into the destructive drive for power which will enable him to frustrate the creative powers of fruitful men.

Refugees from Germany and Italy display a dual attitude. Their hatred for Hitler and Mussolini has all the fire of an Oedipus complex; their love of country is that of a child for a long-suffering mother. I recently heard Erika Mann and G. A. Borgese mildly competing as to which fascist "fatherland," black or brown, was worse. In the books of both, pride in the "motherland's" creative achievements in the feminine arts of poetry and peace touches every page. It is this element which makes their attacks on fascism so telling and counteracts a tendency, which is far too general, to assume that the German and the Italian people somehow deserve their fate. That is a brutal idea worthy only of a fascist.

Incidentally Mr. Borgese, whose sense of the dramatic makes "Goliath" so readable, made a nice point I had not seen brought out before when he spoke of the devilish art with which Hitler and Goebbels planned and carried out the humiliation in three acts of Chamberlain and the Allies of the World War. Berchtesgaden was the throne at which Schuschnigg and others had been humbled; Godesberg was a British headquarters after the war; Munich was the scene of the beerhall putsch which was for too long a laughing matter for those who refused to take the house-painter seriously. Hitler's unctuous references to the self-determination of small nations was a fillip for America.

> British Guiana has among its fauna the constricting anaconda snake, the bushmaster, and the caiman. The fauna of Tanganyika, one of the big-game centers of the world, includes the lion, the leopard, the hippopotamus, and the rhinoceros. The deadly tsetse fly also is found there.—New York *Times.*

Everything but the deadly Nazi.

One of the more interesting plays of the current season in New York is "Abe Lincoln in Illinois," which is playing to packed houses. Most of the critics gave it "rave" notices. Joseph Wood Krutch was, I think rightly, less impressed. But a play about Lincoln is not really a fair test of a critic's judgment. The Lincoln legend is so entwined with the emotions of most Americans, native or foreign-born, that, given such a play, it is hard to tell where the art of the playwright ends and the imaginative feelings of the audience begin. It is bound to be a collaboration. The present play is a rather formless series of emotive incidents rather than a full-bodied characterization. The lusty humor of Lincoln is toned down more than is necessary, and Lincoln's recurring desire to escape into the wilderness is given too much the cast of a rather feeble mysticism, closer to the modern escapism of an unsuccessful poet than to the occasional attempts of a strong character to escape the bonds of impending destiny. A correspondent fresh from the delights of the "entirety" "Hamlet" felt that a play about Lincoln could well be much longer, considering the richness of the material to be drawn upon, and raised the question whether plays in general would not gain by following the Russian and Shakespearean models.

In his article on the theater in "America Now" Mr Krutch cites a theory of Mark Van Doren's that the very best plays seem to be written when everybody is trying to

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write the same one—when a Congreve finally achieves, in "The Way of the World," the work a whole generation has been laboring at, or when a Shakespeare manages to stand on the shoulders of a race of poets whose similarities are at least more significant than their differences. It would be interesting to compile a bibliography—or has one been compiled?—of plays, poems, and novels centering on the greatest dramatic tragedy of our history, the Civil War, and its central figure, Lincoln. It might well prove to be the theme on which the American imagination has most persistently concentrated. If this is true, the wide appeal of a book like "Gone with the Wind" and other essentially second-rate novels about the Civil War is not merely the simple one of romantic escape. And it may be that the genius the theme deserves will eventually rise on the shoulders of countless striving but mediocre talents to give us our own "War and Peace."

These late autumn days throw a fine mellow light on the medieval architecture of the Cloisters on upper Riverside Drive in New York. Among the minor delights of these religious monuments are the colloquial touches by which unknown artisans projected their individual tempers and talents. On the separate capitals of the columns in the Cuxa Cloisters are many self-portraits in worn stone of medieval workmen. One in particular shows a relief of crude humorous faces in which the boisterous laughter of workers on a job is almost audible—and deeply infectious, like the grimaces of children when the back of authority is turned.

The homely touch crops up in more conscious art, which nevertheless has nothing to do with realism. The leaves of Vallombrosa are arbitrary earthly foliage in "Paradise Lost," and when Hawthorne, in the "Tanglewood Tales," makes the breakfast which King Midas turns to gold a hearty New England meal of "hot cakes, some nice little brook trout, roasted potatoes, fresh boiled eggs, and coffee" (with a bowl of bread and milk for Marygold) he is domesticating Ovid with a Puritan's will to make all life fit into his own climate

MARGARET MARSHALL

From Brickyard to Cabinet

BEHIND THE BALLOTS. THE PERSONAL HISTORY OF A POLITICIAN. By James A. Farley. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.

> A number of people have been curious to know why I am writing this book at this time, because men in public life usually wait for retirement before attempting to put their thoughts and recollections on paper. To give a blunt answer, I am writing because I need the money. Before entering President Roosevelt's Cabinet, I was able to make a larger salary than the $15,000 paid me as Postmaster General. Personal expenses over the past five years have increased, and as a consequence a small accumulation of savings has been wiped out and replaced by debts. Being in debt is decidedly unpleasant.

THIS extraordinary frankness is characteristic of Jim Farley's unvarnished and obviously honest record of his career from a small boy working in a brickyard to his present eminence as Postmaster General, chairman of the New York State Democratic Committee, and chairman of the National Democratic Committee. What is more important, he tells, often quite naively and with complete ingenuousness, how he put Franklin Roosevelt into the Governorship of New York and the Presidency of the United States with the considerable aid of others and, most of all, of F. D. R. himself. It is not an egotistical record; he gives himself no airs and attributes to himself no supernatural wisdom or unusual political skill. He had been a bookkeeper and a commercial traveler before entering upon his active political career, and he merely applied the technique of a good salesman to building up the Democratic Party in this state and throughout the country. He knew that nothing flatters the average person so much as a letter or a telephone call or a personal visit from a man in high position. Upon that fact he built his whole campaign for resuscitating the party and putting his beloved F. D. R. in the White House. The happiest moment of his life was when he called the Governor on the telephone and told him that he had been nominated for the Presidency.

The green ink which he uses in signing his letters he adopted merely because it was original and would set people talking. He is undoubtedly the greatest letter-writer the country has ever seen. He frequently signs two thousand letters at a time—usually just "Jim." "If there is a particularly heavy batch of mail, the letters running up into the thousands, I frequently sign for hours on end—usually the procedure takes me from six to eight hours. . . . I have been able to sign very close to two thousand letters in an hour." He glories in the fact that he is the nation's "most prolific letter-writer" as well as the nation's "number-one mailman." But to all this must be added enormous industry, the ability to work without rest for eighteen or nineteen hours a day, day after day, and complete fidelity to the end in view, above all to the man whom he has placed under such tremendous indebtedness to him. That he has great political intelligence is as obvious as is his unusual executive ability.

With the same frankness he takes up charge after charge that has been made against him—the canceling of the air-mail contracts and all the rest. He has no difficulty in showing that so far as giving the spoils to the victors is concerned, he has been no different from any of his predecessors. His defense of the spoils system as necessary in large degree in order to have an Administration loyal to whatever party head may be in the White House is clearly stated, just as he sets forth frankly the names of contributors to the pre-convention Roosevelt campaign and the amounts they paid. If he does not defend the fact that most of them got high office, that is undoubtedly because he would be very much surprised if anybody should question the propriety of it. Yet he lauds to the skies the efficiency of the Post Office inspectors who run criminals to earth with even greater efficiency than the G-men and cites with approval the fact that no political influence of any kind is allowed to affect this force. He claims that the Post Office is better run than ever before, and there are many unbiased observers in Washington who would agree with him. I constantly meet Washington correspondents with a high opinion of Farley both as a man and an executive. I for one am, however, still unconvinced that the combining of the office of chief party

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spoilsman with the Postmaster Generalship is else than a grievous wrong. But I gladly admit that this book will raise Farley in the estimation of those who read it.

Mr. Farley gives one chapter to F. D. R. It is a valuable one from the point of view of the historian of the future, and yet it does not add much to our knowledge of the President. He frankly says that he is not discussing the President's philosophy of government or his stature as a public man, but rather how skilful he is in handling men and women and in meeting difficult situations. He is astounded by the President's knowledge of the United States and its business activities. He declares that the President actually reads reports by the dozen that are sent to him for his information or signature. Philatelists will be fascinated by his account of Roosevelt as a stamp collector and his revelations that the President himself has drawn, however crudely, the designs for many new stamps. He dwells upon the President's enjoyment of jokes on himself and of the cartoons lampooning him. He declares that he is a man of iron will and absolute determination, but scorns the suggestion that he wishes to make himself a dictator. The President, he says, is at his best in a crisis, when he is cool, calm, clear-headed, quick to make decisions, and never flustered. There are many interesting sidelights not only on the President but on many others. He draws an especially moving picture of the President's faithful secretary, Louis F. Howe, who literally gave his life for the President, to whom, incidentally, Howe was introduced by the writer of this review. Mr. Farley declares that the Republicans cannot win in 1940, and that no one but F. D. R. himself knows whether he will run again.

Finally, Mr. Farley tells us that while he has often disagreed with the President there is no break between them. He is going to get out of the Cabinet, however, as soon as the right opportunity offers, so as to get out of those debts which he dislikes so much, and to take better care of his three youngsters—Betty, now sixteen, Ann, thirteen, and Jimmy, aged ten. "The wise man," he says, "steps down when he is at the top and before the going gets rough." Whatever the future holds for him, here is a success story to appeal to every American parent who hopes that his son will arrive at the Cabinet room if not in the White House. Also it is a genuine human document.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Palestine and Britain

THE RAPE OF PALESTINE. By William B. Ziff. Longmans, Green and Company. $3.50.

THOROUGH documentation, including almost a hundred pages of footnotes and appendices, cannot make this completely one-sided anti-British, anti-Arab, and anti-official-Zionist diatribe a scholarly or accurate account of Zionist history. Mr. Ziff's scholarship, which is mistakenly lauded on the dust-jacket by such trained observers of the foreign and domestic scene as Eugene Lyons and William Green, consists of quoting from anyone whose ideas agree with his own preconceived revisionist notions, with no regard for the obvious prejudice or lack of facts of the source.

Mr. Ziff's argument stated baldly is that the British used the Zionists solely to wrest the mandate over the strategically important Holy Land away from the French, and never intended to keep their war-time promise to facilitate the development of a Jewish National Home. In 500 pages he accuses the colonial officials of every conceivable method of sabotage, from enacting harmful tariffs to fostering pogroms. Much of what he charges is true in effect; almost all of it is inaccurate in detail. The composite is a half-truth which completely ignores the British dependence on the loyal Zionist population and a Jewish army of 10,000 well-trained youths to crush the present Arab revolt and keep Palestine safe for imperialism.

The truth is that Britain needs the Zionists. Without them the mandate over Palestine would not have lasted any longer than that of Iraq or Syria. Why, then, has it not done more to aid Zionist colonization? Mr. Ziff lays the blame mainly on anti-Semitic officials. In one of the unsupported statements which intersperse his melodramatic narrative, he names two female and two male secret agents of the Admiralty, Colonial, and Foreign Offices, whose duties are subtly to spread anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism in government circles. London and Jerusalem are certainly not free of pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic officials, but that does not prove that pogrom-making is a government policy. Mr. Ziff accuses the British not only of being responsible for every anti-Jewish outbreak in Palestine from 1920 onward, but also for the Arab anti-imperialist demonstration in 1933. The latter was planned as an anti-Zionist riot, says Mr. Ziff, but at the last moment the officials ordered their agents provocateurs to turn the demonstrators against the British, because the 1933 Nazi outrages had aroused world opinion in favor of the Jews. Many Americans may believe after Munich that the British Tory politicians would sell their grandmothers to achieve their political ends, but this figment of Mr. Ziff's imagination, which is used to advance his thesis that the Arabs have no political will of their own, is hardly credible.

The real reason for the seeming lack of enthusiasm of British officials for Zionist development is probably a matter of arithmetic. It is easier to keep 400,000 Jews safely attached to the tail of the British kite than 800,000. There is also the simple matter of colonial exploitation, which is mentioned by Mr. Ziff. A highly developed industry in Palestine would compete with British manufacturers.

As might be expected, Mr. Ziff has little that is good to say of the Zionist leaders, and he is even stinting in his praise of Jabotinsky, the revisionist Führer. His real hero seems to be Aba Achimeir, founder of a gang of fascist gorillas and strike-breakers in Tel Aviv, who is described as "of the new type of Hebrew patriot, rigid, incorruptible, and single-minded to the point of rhapsody." Could the official Nazi biographer of that other gang leader, Horst Wessel, say more?

In all this rigmarole of hysterical accusations against British, Arabs, and liberal Zionists, together with rhapsodic praise for Jewish fascists, Mr. Ziff unconsciously proves the contention of the liberals that the basic economic and political interests of the Jews and Arabs living in Palestine coincide. Both would benefit from a free, independent, united country. Until they unite, England will continue to pit one against the other. Mr. Ziff's method of packing the Arabs off to

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Iraq, the British back to London, and dissident Jews to concentration camps is no help to right-thinking people troubled by the sorry plight of Palestine.

This book should be an object lesson to notables who are wont to indorse forthcoming publications without carefully reading them. William Green says of this volume: "Every lover of humanity and everyone who hopes to preserve our present civilization should read these dynamic pages." Mr. Ziff, who shows his anti-labor bias throughout, in the closing pages advises the Jews "ruthlessly to eradicate their inner enemies, the pacifists, weaklings, and advocates of class struggle." Surely, this is not Mr. Green's idea of preserving civilization.

ZEL LURIE

Russia, White and Red

BLOODY BARON. By Vladimir Pozner. Translated from the French by Warre Bradley Wells. Random House. $2.50.

TESTAMENT. By R. C. Hutchinson. Farrar and Rinehart. $3.

"BLOODY BARON" hits you right between the eyes. If it depends for its effect on the same morbid fascination that lies in a tabloid account of the latest torso murder —well, that just means that you shouldn't read it unless you have a reasonably strong stomach for horrors. It is a novelized biography of the almost legendary White Russian general Baron Roman von Ungern-Sternberg, scion of a family older than the Romanovs, who terrorized Mongolia and portions of Siberia in 1920-21 by the most incredible military exploits and the most barbarous cruelty. Few readers will be in any position to judge whether M. Pozner has interpreted Ungern's character accurately in picturing him as obsessed with the ambition to restore the tremendous Oriental empire of Genghis Khan, but he has unquestionably etched a fearsome portrait of a mad tyrant whose ruthless lust for power, combined with a little luck and the secret support of the Japanese high command, enabled him for a year or two to defy both the Red Army and the forces of the Chinese government. The Russians finally captured him and put him to death.

Perhaps the most striking thing about the book is M. Pozner's piquant manner of telling the story, a manner difficult to describe. First of all, he takes the reader behind the scenes, as it were, relating in vivacious narrative form the events that caused him to write about Ungern, the places where he found material, his interviews, real or imaginary, with persons who had known the Baron. Then he launches into the midst of the story and carries it right through its welter of blood, torture, pillage, rape, and battle—writing, if you can imagine such a thing, with a tone of almost whimsical urbanity that would seem to fit rather a tale of the boudoir than such a calendar of horrors. The resulting weird, nightmarish flavor may prove shocking to some; to others the flashes of levity may serve to heighten the gruesomeness of the events described. It is definitely a tour de force, but one not easy to forget.

"Testament," the fifth novel by the British writer R. C. Hutchinson, is a much more bulky and ambitious project, a story of Russia before and during the revolution, told with a tremendous amount of circumstantial detail. Written in the first person as by a certain Captain Otraveskov, a liberal-minded officer in the Russian army, it pictures through the eyes of a sympathetic but relatively impartial observer the effects of the Czar's abdication and the Kerensky government, and later the chaos and fanaticism of the Bolshevik regime, on the well-to-do classes in Petrograd and Moscow. The captain and his family are caught in the maelstrom of events in spite of themselves; in the end they effect their escape from the Soviets only after the most harrowing trials and adventures. Sharing the limelight with Otraveskov is Count Anton Scheffler, an idealist and humanitarian of inflexible will, who suffers first at the hands of the imperial army and later at the hands of the Communist chiefs, both times because he stands up for justice to individuals and refuses to compromise with the heartless machinery of mass policy. There is more than a modicum of melodrama in the book, along with much genuine pathos: plenty of fighting and hairbreadth escapes and heroic self-sacrifices by the hero, and providential rescues by his faithful servant.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

The Difficult Child

GUIDING HUMAN MISFITS. By Alexandra Adler. The Macmillan Company. $1.75.

THIS wise and simple little book by Dr. Alexandra Adler, daughter of the late Professor Alfred Adler of Vienna, who is herself a research fellow in neurology of Harvard University, and associate in research at the Boston City Hospital, makes a real contribution to character psychology. The late Alfred Adler was the founder of "individual" psychology and created the child-guidance movement of Vienna.

Dr. Alexandra Adler was brought up as an almost unconscious psychologist. Her methods as doctor and thinker are transparently honest and objective; no doubt or complexity attaches to her plain statements of what can be done and has been done in the development of human misfits. Her practice has been so successfully the result of her teaching that in her succinct description of case histories one sometimes misses the explanations which would reveal *how* these enormous strides in child training have been taken. There is practically no limit, except that of physiological brain deterioration, to what can be done to assist neurotic or delinquent children.

"Guiding Human Misfits" presents very clearly the chief features of Adlerian psychology: the early life plan of the child, the behavior patterns typical of neurosis, the main features of the family constellation, and the releasing power of an education founded upon social interest.

There is something very uncontroversial and easy to accept in Dr. Alexandra Adler's simple treatment of these fiery psychological problems, which have such a direct relation to human life. She handles the great questions of heredity and environment with a direct common sense and matter-of-factness which prevent friction and produce in any fair-minded reader a reassuring sense of being given the materials for decision without the menace of propaganda.

This is a book which will be priceless to any intelligent teacher or parent, for it points out the types of children liable

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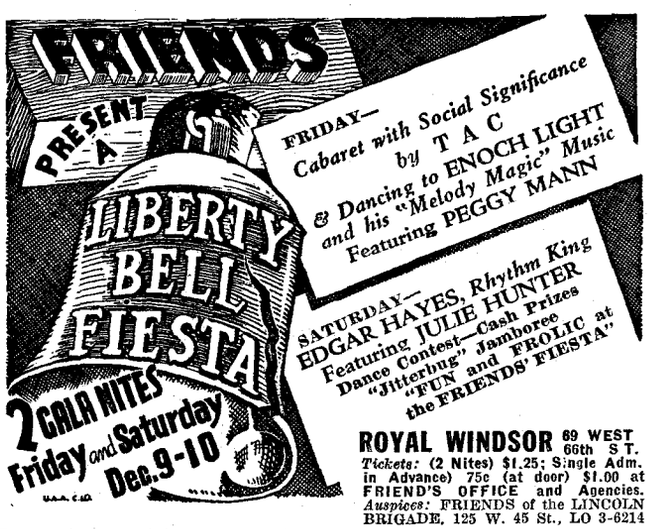
to develop into neurotics or delinquents, and tells how to meet their various difficulties. The chapters on Childhood as a Preparation for Later Life and Some Problems of Adolescents are particularly stimulating for educators.

It is interesting to note the Adlerian interpretation of dreams and early recollections, with its marked differences from the more complicated and sex-biased Freudian interpretation. To Adler, dreams and the choice of individual memory in early recollections were always indications of a person's real aim or goal in life. They were as significant to him as the fingerprints of a criminal to a criminal expert.

One of Confucius's disciples once asked his master how, in one word, to sum up a prescription for a happy and useful life. "Perhaps the word you are seeking," Confucius replied, "is reciprocity." Dr. Adler shows step by step how this law of "reciprocity" (love of the neighbor) can come to the rescue of every narrowed, stunted life based upon a false aim and heading in a wrong direction.

PHYLLIS BOTTOME



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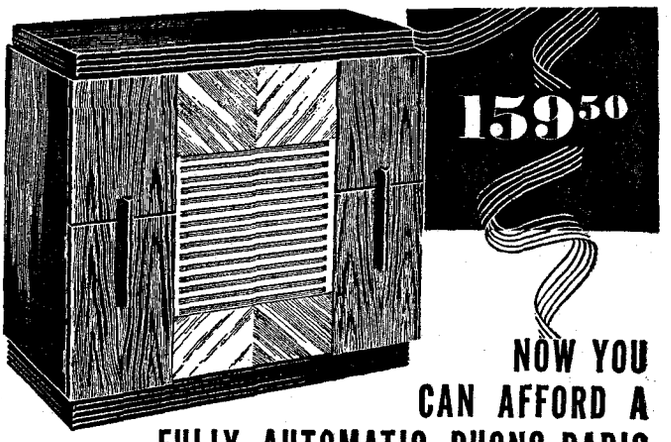

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DRAMA

"Rocket to the Moon"

THE tendency still persists to make of Clifford Odets and his plays a political issue. That, I think, is a pity from any point of view now that the facts are becoming increasingly clear. Whatever his opinions may have been or, for that matter, may still be, those opinions are shared by many, while Mr. Odets reveals a gift for characterization and a gift for incisive dialogue unapproached by any of his Marxian fellows and hardly equaled by any other American playwright.

"Rocket to the Moon," the new play produced by the Group at the Belasco Theater, carries him at least one step farther along the road he is traveling, and to my mind at least makes the best of the other new plays now current on Broadway seem pallid indeed. Certain crudities, though they are less conspicuous than those in any of his previous works, do remain. Moreover, the fable of "Rocket to the Moon," like that of both "Awake and Sing" and "Golden Boy," seems more powerful in conception than in development; so that as the story approaches its end the manipulation of events tends to become more nearly mechanical. Perhaps the play as a whole never rises above the level of its first act. But the personages are endowed with a life almost painfully intense, and the incisive thrusts of the dialogue follow one another relentlessly from the beginning to the end.

Reduced to an outline, the story may seem almost commonplace. The action takes place in the dingy office of an unsuccessful dentist who is married to a nagging wife and who finds himself at forty in the arms of the eager but pathetic child engaged to keep his books and clean his instruments. In the end he is compelled to bid for her favors against his own father-in-law, a man of wealth and power, and in the end also both lose to the girl, just intelligent enough to know that neither the love of a timid failure whom his wife will always rule nor the love of a man who will soon be old is quite good enough. But no such outline can suggest either the solid reality of the characters or the insight exhibited into the workings of their minds. Not one of the personages is a story-book cliché; not one of the situations seems other than freshly imagined; and Mr. Odets exhibits, among other things, two gifts not often combined—the gift for a kind of literal realism which makes his characters recognizable fragments of reality, and the gift for endowing these same characters with an intensity of life which lifts them into another realm. They are immediately recognized and accepted, but the sense that one has met them before is soon succeeded by the realization that the full force of what they are and what they imply is here thrust for the first time upon an awakened awareness.

Like the best scenes in previous works, "Rocket to the Moon" is in one sense not a "pleasant" play. The spectator is spared no ugliness and, except perhaps at the very end, permitted no romantic or sentimental evasion of the situation. The broken spirit of the middle-aged failure, the desperate gallantry of the old man trying to pretend that he can

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accept the emptiness of his own life, and the unconscious cruelty of the girl who cannot even imagine what it is like not to have a whole lifetime before one, are realities which nothing can explain away and nothing make other than painful in themselves. Yet the intensity which makes the play at moments almost unbearable is responsible also for the fact that it is more than a tale of frustration and rises above mere realism toward the tragic level. No desires so agonizingly intense as those which possess these people can be really trivial, and even the defeated become heroes when they fight with such desperation.

The political implications of the play, if they exist at all, are even less intrusive and less explicit than they were in "Golden Boy," and seem to come down to no more than the suggestion that money or the lack of it plays some part in determining the course which our lives must take. It needs no ghost come from the grave to tell us that, and the fact is frequently recognized by writers without party affiliations. Whatever further private meanings the play may have for the author need be no concern of either the general public or the critic. Mr. Odets is welcome to any opinions he may care to hold so long as he can write as impressive a play as the present one.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

RECORDS

EACH of the Lafayette radio-phonographs I recommended recently is excellent value, but the fifteen-tube C-32 with Garrard record-changer at $159.50 (A. C.) is in addition one of the best-sounding machines I have heard. In this one —as compared with the nine-tube C-22—one is aware of the greater power behind the sound, and with it the greater spaciousness, clarity of definition, depth, and richness. As I heard it—in a room all concrete and glass, with volume strong and the tone-control set for maximum treble—the high register of the violins sounded excessively sharp; but in a normally carpeted and draped room and with the high frequencies at less than maximum the sharpness should be eliminated. The same machine without its record-changer can be had by paying $137.50 for the C-33 equipped with Garrard single-record assembly.

Alternative cabinets are to be had; so is A. C.-D. C., on which I will report later, as I will also on the phonograph without radio, 392-T, which when I heard it had a fault that was to be looked into. The table-model phonograph —$84.50 for the 390-T automatic, $55.50 for 389-T with Garrard single-record assembly (A. C.)—sounded like the C-13 table-model radio-phonograph.

Here I might mention the Ansley D-16, a six-tube phonograph which gives reproduction as good as that of the D-21 combination, and which at $120 is a good buy for someone afflicted with D. C. But for A. C. the outstanding phonograph is the Magnavox Symphony at $134.50. For $143.50 it can be had with radio-input; and a little Emerson radio-tuner is all that is needed to convert it into an excellent radio-phonograph. Magnavox puts the same amplifier and speaker

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Hans Kohn on Max Lerner's **"It Is Later Than You Think"**

Odell Shepard on George F. Whicher's **"Biography of Emily Dickinson"**

Jacques Barzun on Lincoln Kirstein's **"Blast at Ballet"**

Sidney Hook on A. N. Whitehead's **"Modes of Thought"**

Rustem Vambery on Harold Laski's **"Parliamentary Government in England"**

Books of 1938
Selected by the Editors

Next Week in *The Nation*

into larger cabinets with radios; and I will report on them when I have heard them.

Of the two medium-priced Scotts I do not recommend the new Super XII, but do recommend the new nineteen-tube Phantom, which is very fine, and possibly even the finest I have heard in the medium-price range (I say possibly because of the fact that I am not able to hear instruments of different makes side by side). One can understand that the chromium glitter of the Scott chassis and other features of Scott sales promotion would annoy organizations like Consumers' Union; but what is more important to me is the fact —according to people whose judgment I can depend on— that the materials, the workmanship, and the engineering skill that go into a machine like the Phantom and the thirty-tube Philharmonic are unsurpassed. I heard the Phantom in its lowest-priced set-up: radio-tuner, amplifier, and speaker in the Braemar console cabinet ($199.50 f. o. b. Chicago) against a wall, and single-record-player ($29.50) next to one's chair in a little box ($11.95) or in a little console ($29.50). This removes the necessity of getting up to change each record side, leaving only the necessity of making the change itself while one is seated; and if that is too heavy a burden the automatic record-player costs $87.50 (both players are Garrard with magnetic pick-up, which you may be able to buy more cheaply elsewhere; and a cabinetmaker can make something to hold it).

Ansley offers a similar set-up: a table-model radio-phonograph which has its own little speaker if one wants to take it to the country, but which ordinarily is connected with a large speaker in a separate cabinet that stands unobtrusively in a corner. The tone is much superior to that of the D-25 in spaciousness, clarity of definition, and fidelity; but I must add that the middle of the tonal range sounded to my ears a little wooden in comparison with the upper and lower portions. At $150 this set-up is remarkably good value; it is to be had only by special order from the Ansley Company itself. (In the one I heard the pick-up was badly mounted, so that the needle pointed into the side of the groove instead of into the bottom. Watch out for that.)

Here let me emphasize the fact that to hear what I have heard from one of these machines you will have to use it as I did. If you play records with volume low and the treble reduced to make the tone "mellow" and eliminate scratch, you may as well keep the machine you have. In one of these high-fidelity machines turn up the volume so that the tone is full, strong, and clear; set the treble-control at maximum. If this makes the treble too sharp set the control lower, but not below the point at which scratch is plainly audible. That is what I did with the Lafayette; in the Scott Phantom with treble at maximum, I had the S on the bass-control and volume-control pointing anywhere from 5 to 7.

Let me also warn you against phonograph salesmanship, which is even worse than automobile salesmanship because you have greater ignorance for it to work on. Go to the salesroom with your own high-fidelity records and half-tone steel needles; ask the salesman or saleswoman to lead you to the particular machine you want to try, and to show you only how the volume- and tone-controls work; then insist on being left alone and let your ears discover whether what the machine gives is what you want.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

"Bad" Peace or "Good" War

Dear Sirs: I usually agree with Oswald Garrison Villard's views on the question of war and peace. But I am at a loss to understand the logic of his denunciations of France and Great Britain for declining to fight to maintain Czech rule over districts predominantly inhabited by Germans and other racial minorities. Mr. Villard has consistently and, in my opinion, rightly opposed all policies which seem likely to bring about the involvement of the United States in foreign quarrels. Why, then, does he set up one standard of morals for America and another for France and Great Britain? Why does he, at least by implication, accept for France and Great Britain the whole philosophy of collective security and crusading and preventive wars which he has so often and so eloquently rejected for America? Mr. Villard speaks of "an obituary of democracy" in Europe. Does he think the chances of survival of democracy would be better if all Europe were now engaged in a devastating war, made more brutal and ferocious by modern weapons of destruction?

Mr. Villard does not include the Soviet Union in his criticisms of France and Great Britain. Yet the Soviet Union was technically more committed than Great Britain to the defense of Czechoslovakia and stood to lose more through the fall of that country's military power. After all, Czechoslovakia is on the road to Kiev and Moscow, not on the road to Paris and London. Is there any proof that the Soviet Union gave Czechoslovakia any more positive support than speeches at Geneva and unverifiable *post factum* statements as to what it would have done if France and Great Britain had only stepped in first? The most revealing indication of the inability or unwillingness of the Soviet Union to come effectively to the aid of Czechoslovakia is, I think, to be found in a message from Harold Denny in the New York *Times* of September 28. This shows that at the height of the European crisis, when Great Britain had mobilized the fleet and France was calling up reserves to the Maginot line, the Soviet War Commissar was far away in eastern Siberia, engaged in the political "liquidation" of one of the few surviving Soviet generals of proved military ability, Marshal Blücher.

No non-fascist can feel any enthusiasm over the Munich agreement. But when the alternatives were a harsh, brutal, vindictive alteration of a frontier which most liberals denounced when it was drawn in 1919 and a general war which, whatever its result, would have certainly signalized the end of democracy and civilization in Europe, I think there is more to be said for the decision of Chamberlain and Daladier than most of their critics will allow. I wonder whether Mr. Villard himself, when he views the situation in retrospect, will not admit that this is a case where the old adage that a "bad" peace is better than a "good" war may prove to be the verdict of history.

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

Tokyo, Japan, November 1

The Arab Point of View

Dear Sirs: Recently a large number of Christians in America have expressed protests in behalf of the Zionist aim of further considerable Jewish immigration into Palestine. We do not think that any Christian, or indeed any fair-minded Jew, would sign such statements if he knew what an injustice he was thereby supporting, or if he had even heard the Arab point of view expressed.

The Palestine Arab sees his homeland invaded, and cannot understand the difference between that and the conquest of Ethiopia or the attack on China; he would almost prefer the fate of those countries, for at least they are not being settled by Italians or Japanese in mass. He hears of the sympathy shown by Americans to the Jews of the world in their plight; in many cases he shares it; yet he cannot understand why his small country should have been called upon to absorb a greater influx of Jewish immigrants since the war than the whole of the United States. There is no parallel in modern times to such a mass immigration, not freely determined, as the immigration policy of this country is freely determined by the American people, but based upon force against the will of the original inhabitants. And there is no parallel to the Zionist claim that because the Jews lived in Palestine many centuries ago, therefore they have a "historical" right to return there like absentee landlords.

Appeals are being constantly made to the Balfour Declaration as though the question for the British government were a simple one of keeping its bond or repudiating it. About this let me say four things: in the first place, promises were made to the Arabs too; secondly, no declaration can take away the right of a people to independence in its homeland; thirdly, we think repudiation of the declaration would be preferable to continuing an unjust policy; in the fourth place, it is fair to regard the Jewish National Home as now established, so that the obligations of the Balfour Declaration may be considered already fulfilled.

Emigration to Palestine cannot solve the Jewish problem; it has merely raised an Arab problem, which, we assure you, will come increasingly to the fore as the Arabs of the surrounding countries —Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Arabia—make it their own concern.

GEORGE F. HOURANI
NABIH A. FARIS

Princeton, N. J., November 15

Biography of W. C. Whitney

Dear Sirs: I am well advanced upon a biography of the late William C. Whitney, statesman and financier of this city. This work is a doctoral dissertation under the supervision of Professor Allan Nevins of Columbia University. If any of your readers possess any correspondence to or from Mr. Whitney, or other manuscript material concerning him, I should be very grateful if they would lend it to me. I can assure them that their contributions would be copied and photostated with the greatest care and immediately returned through the mails insured. My address is 13 West Seventy-fourth Street, New York.

MARK D. HIRSCH

New York, November 27

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